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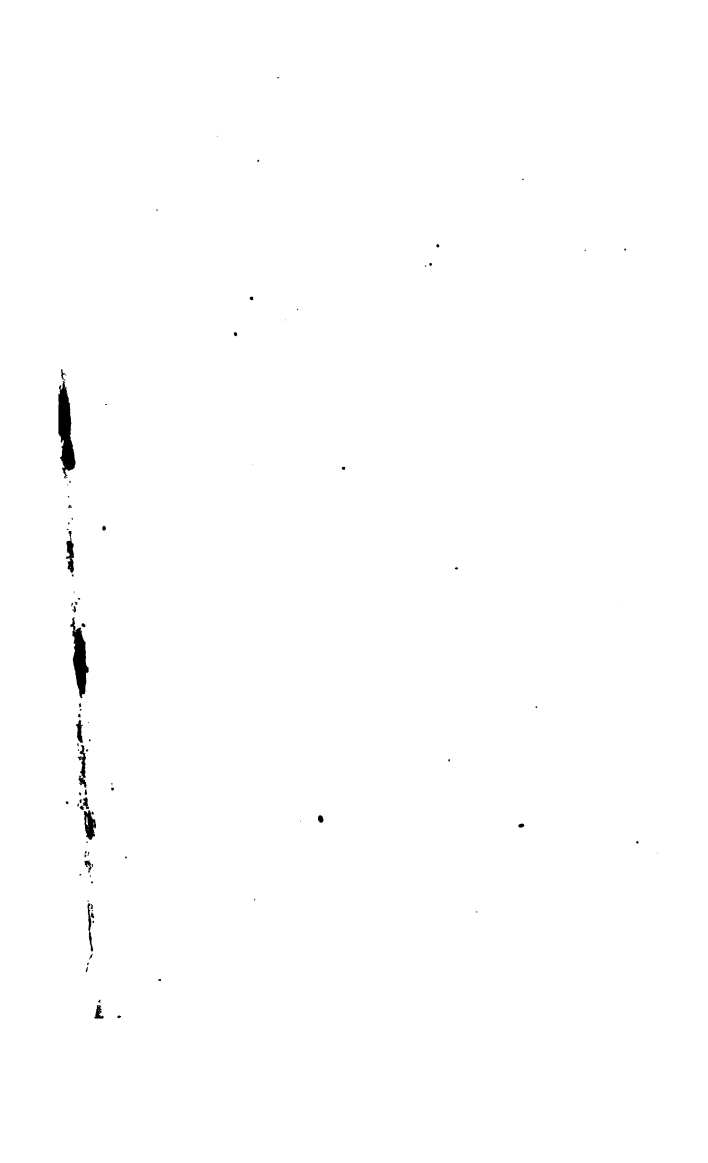
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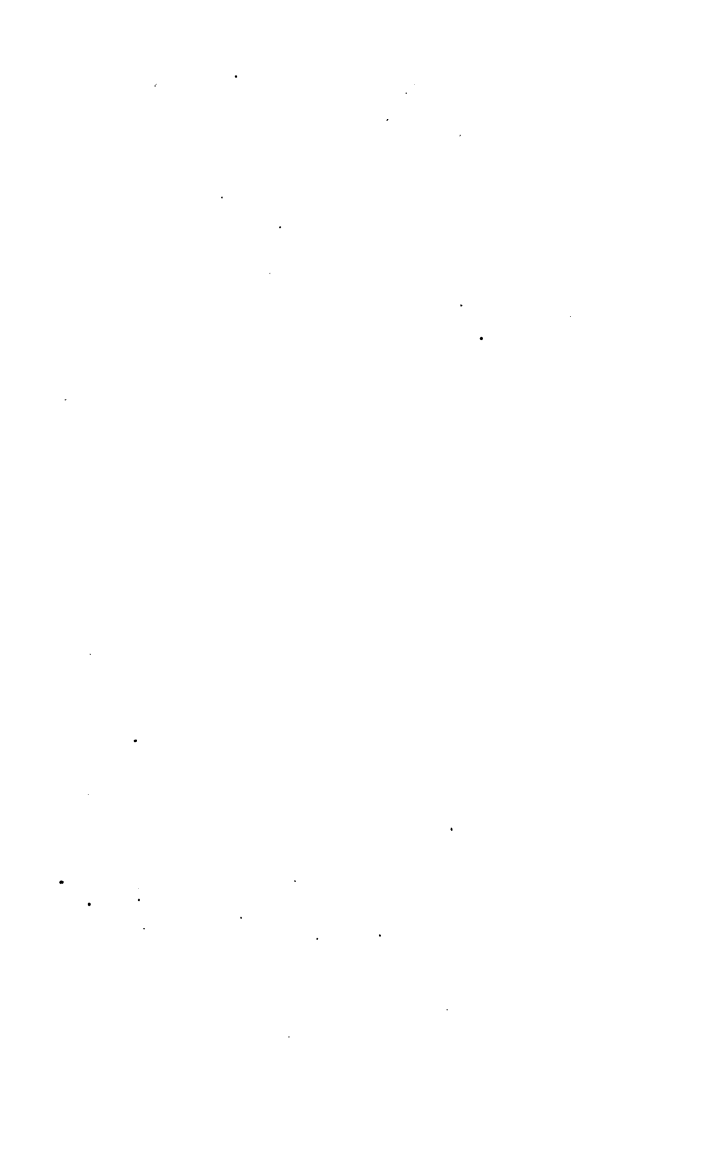
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THE
CONFISCATION OF ULSTER,

IN THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST,

COMMONLY CALLED

THE ULSTER PLANTATION.

BY THOMAS MAC NEVIN,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE VOLUNTEERS OF 1782."

"Foreseeing that Ireland must be the stage to act upon, it being unsettled, and many forfeited lands therein altogether wasted, they concluded to push for fortunes in that kingdom."

Montgomery Manuscript

DUBLIN:

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I have given this list of authorities, which I have repeatedly examined, to serve as a guide to the study the most interesting period of Irish history.

TO
SIR ROBERT KANE,

ETC. ETC.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

I beg to inscribe this Book with your distinguished name—distinguished for the most signal and most enduring services to your country.

Yours is the truest patriotism. You have taught us practically to appreciate the wealth of our fertile soil, our mines, and our rivers ; and how we can best avail ourselves of the great natural treasures of this island.

Your labours for your country have conferred infinite advantages upon her, the most valuable acquisitions on scientific and industrial knowledge, and distinguished honour on yourself.

In addition to your numerous titles to public gratitude, on me you have the highest claims of any, namely, of sincere esteem and friendship ; and allow me to remark that I should not have presumed to select your name, with which to inscribe my page, if I did not feel conscious that I had not any intention of teaching, in this book, agrarian doctrines, which I abhor and condemn. The selection of such a name is my answer to any one who charges me with preaching a resumption of estates—a thing morally dishonest and legally impossible.*

Yours, &c. &c.

THOMAS MAC NEVIN.

26, Summer-hill, Dublin.

* The idea of making title at this time of day is ridiculous.

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SINCE this Work went to press the House of Lords has affirmed a decision of Lord Langdale in the Rolls, in the case of *The Skinners' Company against the Irish Society*. The principle of the decision is this, that the Irish Society is a trustee of the Crown and of the City of London only for public and political purposes, and that although it is bound to divide the surplus remaining in hands, after working out these purposes, amongst the London Companies—Grocers, Fishmongers, Drysalters—yet no single Company has a right to an account from the Society. It was a decision on grounds of technical equity, having no general interest, except so far as the history of the Plantation was introduced. It has certainly given unlimited powers of extravagant expenditure in tavern bills and travelling expenses, and the like, to the Society.—*Reports of Cases adjudged in the Rolls' Court during the time of Lord Langdale, by Charles Beavan*, vol. vii., part iii., p. 593. See Chapter VII. of this Work.

...the *Work* went to print the House of Lords (see
...a decision of Lord Langdale in the House, in the
...of the Statute, Chapter 10, section 1, which says
...the principle of the decision is that the right to
...is a statutory right, and of the City of London
...right to public and political purposes, and that it should
...is found to divide the surplus remaining in hands,
...working out these purposes, amongst the London
...—Grocers, Fishmongers, Drapers—yet it
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...the Statute, was introduced. It has certainly
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...and travelling expenses, and the like, in the
...—Reports of Cases adjudged in the King's Bench
...the time of Lord Keble, by Charles Keble,
...Part II, p. 300. See Chapter VII of the

THE
CONFISCATION OF ULSTER.

CHAPTER I.

Accession of James the First—Act of Oblivion—Extension of the English law to Ireland—Persecution of Roman Catholics—Risings in Waterford and Cork—Spies set upon the Great Earl.

On the 5th April, 1603, James the First ascended the throne which had been just vacated by one of the ablest sovereigns that ever wielded the English sceptre. Surrounded by a nation of courtiers, his progress to London was a continual triumph. He was received with the wildest transports; and the people hurried from all sides, with unreflecting loyalty, to welcome to his throne the first of the Stuarts.

No English monarch had commenced his reign under better auspices. The despotic genius of

his predecessor had removed every difficulty of government in England, and James's title, though far from being unquestionable, was freely admitted by the people. The vices of his character had not yet disclosed themselves; and a tumultuous joy hailed the accession of one of the worst and weakest of the English kings.

And in Ireland James was the first monarch who enjoyed entire dominion. After a war of several years' duration, in which the English power was nearly destroyed, and in which England triumphed only by the profound policy of Mountjoy, Hugh O'Neill* had submitted to do homage to the crown, and to waive the hereditary honours of his name for the title of an English earl. But Elizabeth, to whom the merit of the conquest of Ireland is justly attributed, did not live to enjoy her own success. The capitulation with Hugh O'Neill was not signed until after her death, and probably would never have been

* Hugh O'Neill, created Earl of Tyrowen by Elizabeth, was son of Mathew of Dungannon, who was son of Conn O'Neill the Lamé. The latter was the first O'Neill who accepted an English earldom. Conn had other sons, and one of them was a most distinguished chieftain of Tyrowen, John the Proud. On the death of John, Tirlogh Lynnogh O'Neill was invested with the Principality of Tyrowen, but Hugh having made interest with Elizabeth, obtained both the lands and earldom, some provision having been made for the security and well-being of Tirlogh Lynnogh. After Hugh's investment, he shortly threw off his foreign honours, assumed the ancient title of "The O'Neill," and led his countrymen, through the course of a long and brilliant war, against the English. His biography is fully and most eloquently told in Mitchel's "Life of Hugh O'Neill."

concluded by the Irish Chief if he had been aware of the removal of his formidable enemy. This was, however, wisely concealed by the Lord Deputy until O'Neill's submission was complete; and thus it was reserved for James to enjoy the fruits of a conquest achieved by the wisdom and policy of his predecessor.

Hugh O'Neill and Roderick O'Donnell* were

* Roderick O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and chieftain of the ancient race of Tyrconnell (now Donegal) was brother of one of the most remarkable men of his day, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, or Red Hugh O'Donnell. Red Hugh, well knowing the comparative merit of the men, marched his army into Tyrowen, and compelled Tirlagh Linnagh to resign the principality of Tyrowen in favour of Hugh O'Neill. He carried on incessant war against the English and their allies. He defeated Sir John Norris, Earl of Kildare, and Lord Burrows, and assisted Hugh O'Neill in defeating and killing Marshal Bagenal at the Battle of the Yellow Ford on the Blackwater. Three of these English generals were killed on the field of battle. He marched with Hugh O'Neill to relieve Kinsale in 1602, where these two distinguished friends differed about the honour of leading the attack upon the English; the consequence was, a want of concert amongst the troops, and the irreparable destruction of the Irish League against Elizabeth. After the defeat before Kinsale, Hugh O'Donnell went to Spain to induce Philip to invade Ireland. He fared badly in this mission, and worn out with vexation of spirit and the fatigues of war, he died at Simancas, near Valladolid, 10th September, 1601. His brother Roderick was created Earl of Tyrconnell by patent of 29th September, 1603. The King's letter creating Roderick earl, is a valuable historical document, and will be found in Sir William Betham's *memoir of the O'Donnells*, p. 185 of his *Antiquarian Researches*, Part I. After his flight with Hugh O'Neill he was attainted with his brother Calvagh. He died Rome 28th July, 1617, and was buried in the Abbe

carried to London in a state of honourable captivity; a formidable escort attended them on their journey, not to reflect lustre on their arrival, but to protect them from the vindictive fury of the people, who could scarcely be withheld from laying violent hands upon those "wicked and *ungrateful* traitors by whose rebellion so many of their friends had fallen."*

Their reception at the court was of a flattering description; they were welcomed by James with marks of distinguished favour;† Roderick O'Donnell was created Earl of Tyrconnell; Hugh O'Neill was confirmed in his Earldom of Tyr-owen, and in all his properties and possessions; the submission of the leaders in the great war was complete and unreserved, and all was prepared "for a final establishment of the English power upon the basis of equal laws and civilized customs."‡

James's first measures were conciliatory. He published an Act of Oblivion and Indemnity by proclamation under the great seal, whereby all offences against the Crown, and all offences amongst subjects, committed before his accession were pardoned and extinguished, never

St. Francis. A branch of this illustrious family is settled in Spain, of which are the Conde de Abispaal and his brothers. Another O'Donnell married a princess of Cantucacine, one of the descendants of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople and Trebisonde.—*Sir W. Betham's Ant. Res.* p. 192.

* Leland's "History of Ireland," vol. 2, p. 417.

† "He (Tyrowen) was graciously received by the king, and returned with honours."—*Borlase*, p. 184.

‡ *Hallam's "Constitutional History,"* vol. 3, p. 499.

to be revived or called into further question.* The peasants, tillers of the soil, mechanics, and artizans, hitherto, as Leland says, left under the tyranny of their chieftains, were received into the king's immediate protection. If we are to believe the flatterer of James, his measures were of such a nature, and bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as that thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland.† Sheriffs, the first of those officers of English law that ever administered its provisions in the old principalities of O'Neill and O'Donnell, were appointed in counties which had owned the supremacy of the two great Northern chieftains.‡ Tyrowen and Tyrconnell were converted into shires, and the territorial divisions of baronies and counties became universal over Ulster; Judges of Assize held their circuits in every quarter; and Sir Edmund Pelham accompanied by Sir John Davies visited, in their judicial capacity, all the counties in the North, a visitation, as the latter quaintly remarks, which, though distasteful to the Irish lords, "was sweet and most welcome to

* Sir John Davies' "Causes," p. 196, Dublin ed. 1737.

† Ibid. p. 197.

‡ "1603. Sir George Carey, Treasurer at War, June 1, was made Lord Deputy; he, in the first year of his majesty's reign, made the first sheriffs that ever served in Tyrowen and Tyrconnell, and shortly after sent Sir Edmund Pelham, Chief Baron, and Sir John Davies of Ireland, the first Justices of Assize in those countries, which were welcome to the Commons, though distasteful to the Irish Lords."—*Borlase's Reduction of Ireland the Crown of England*, p. 185.

the common people." But lords and common people had yet to learn what things could be wrought under the semblance of English law, and what was the true import of that protection into which they had been graciously received.

As a preliminary measure towards the establishment of English power, the old laws and customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind, and all "cuttings, cosherings, and sessings"* were abolished, and the English law of inheritance, and English

* Coigne and Livery, Cuttings and Cosherings, were various names for the several forms of contribution which an Irish Chieftain was entitled to receive from his clansmen, or, as English writers universally phrased it, from his "tenants." "Coigne and Livery" meant man's-meat and horse-meat (*Spenser's State of Ireland*), which a chief seems to have been invested with power to require in rather indefinite quantities, according to the exigencies of his station; and "Coshering" was the privilege of the chieftain to make progresses among his clan, and live, with all his train, at their expense; "wherein he did eat them," says Sir John Davies, "out of house and home."—*Historical Tracts*, p. 134. Sir John, indeed, who was a main instrument in establishing the new systems of tenure, is highly indignant against the old, which he says "made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villein"—being unable apparently to understand the fact, which, however, is indisputable, that the Chieftain was not a "lord," nor the clansmen "tenants," much less "villeins;" that all these "cosherings," &c. were the ancient payments which custom required every clan to make to its elected leader; and that, far from being oppressive, they were gladly submitted to by every clan without exception, "for their common saying," says Spenser, "is, *Spend me and Defend me*"—a phrase which clearly indicates the mutual obligations of chief and people, and the mode in which they were to be discharged.

tenures substituted in their stead. The "Commission of Grace" issued,* and in pursuance of its provisions most of the Irish lords yielded their estates to the crown, and received them again under the English titles of Knight Service or Common Soccage; inquisitions were holden into the amount of land possessed by the chieftains, in order that none of them should receive a re-grant of more than what was actually in his possession; and the tenants under each lord, relieved of uncertain contributions and exactions, held their lands subject to an annual rent and by free tenure.†

* Lascelles says "The Commission of Grace was merely a device for raising money. Lawyers were the financiers of the day. And this device of a new tenure was a mere tax, ever renewable like a phoenix, but not so fabulous. Though *these Commissions of Grace* are interlarded with many specious professions of 'pity for the poor'—'love of justice'—'the prosperity, trade, and commerce of the country'—'civility'—and the like; yet so is every declaration even of war, which is sure to lay prostrate all those blessings. We might as well believe the preambles of many statutes, which, nevertheless, every man of common sense knows are nothing else but the pretexts, not the true reasons of the law."—*Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniæ* under the heading of *Res gesta Anglorum in Hibernia*, chapter 6, p. 47, being a very excellent history of Ireland by Mr. Lascelles of the Middle Temple.

† These changes, which would at the first glance appear to be beneficial to the people, were suggested by a far-seeing policy, having a very different object. The destruction of the custom of Tanistry rooted out the very principle of Irish government—election; and with it that ancient system of clanship which is found pervading the history of Ireland from the earliest periods, (Moore, vol. I, pp. 169, 170,) and which principally depended on this, and on the other institution of Gavelkind. To

In this scheme of government, which at one blow destroyed the institutions, habits, laws, and customs of ages, which substituted one form of civilization for another essentially different, there was, to the eyes of an Englishman, much apparent wisdom. The ancient laws of Ireland had been tried, say English writers, and were found not to be beneficial. From the customs of Tanistry and, Gavelkind, and from the subdivision of power amongst the numerous chieftains, resulted incessant contentions, which rendered any great National movement unlikely, if not impossible, and fatally impeded the progress of the people to refinement and high civilization. A social system without any settled appropriation of property,*

latter made all lands the common property of the sept, for, on the death of the Prince, his Tanist (who during his life time had been elected to succeed him) assembled the sept, and made a partition of all the lands amongst them. This was a system quite different from the Anglo-Norman, or feudal, forms of social organization, and was certainly unfavourable to agricultural improvement. But the English monarchs saw a greater evil in it. It gave the princes only a life-estate—a restricted and not descendible interest; and the life estate only, and not the remainder, was forfeitable by treason. By giving the “fee-simple” to the Chief, his estates became subject to the law of Forfeiture; and what was more important to the objects of England, the sept lost that common bond of interest and union with the Chief, which gave them power and consequence. A similar result occurred in the system of Highland clan-ship in Scotland by similar policy.

* “The fruits of the Irish Gavelkind was the total desolation of the country. When the English entered the fertile fields of Ulster, they found an idle desert; and

and with no established line of hereditary descent, divided and contentious, where all differences were brought to the arbitrament of the sword, or decided by a code in which the punishment for the gravest crimes was commuted to pecuniary mulcts ;—a military system capable of producing the noblest instances of heroism, and occasionally of gallantly resisting foreign invasion, but incapable of affording permanent internal security, gave way before a newer and more vigorous order of things, and yielded, not without honourable resistance, to the arms and policy of an united enemy.* It is now a matter of mere speculation whether, if Ireland “ had not tempted

the general subjugation of the Celtic tribes, who, though gifted, and in no ordinary degree, with strength, courage, and intelligence, have yielded to every stranger, may probably be traced to their stubborn adherence to this system, which annihilated all inducements to industry, destroyed the sources of individual opulence, and exposed the nation at large to all the evils of sloth and indolence.”—*Sir F. Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. 1, p. 75. He says that Gavelkind is a variation of an universal Teutonic custom.

* Noble instances occur in Irish history of resistance to foreign aggression. The very crimes and abominations committed by the Danes prove how violent and persevering must have been the opposition of the Irish to the northern invaders. The most signal triumph over foreign enemies was achieved by Brian, a wise and successful usurper, who had nearly consolidated in his own person the entire monarchical power of Ireland. Had he survived the bloody and glorious triumph of Clontarf, he might perhaps have completed his scheme of wise usurpation, realized in his own person, or in that of one of his descendants, the theory contained in the text. Scarcely

the cupidity of her neighbours, there would have arisen in the course of time some Egbert or Harold Harfager to consolidate the provincial kingdoms into one hereditary monarchy.* It is most probable that such a consummation might have been effected; but the spirit of adventure carried the invader to the shores of Ireland before her Legislator appeared, and the country fell beneath the internal dissensions of her own sons as much as by the force and treachery of a foreign foe. It has been her unfortunate lot that those who, after the loss of her independence, obtained power in Ireland, perpetuated those evils—ruling first by the conflicting interests of different races, and afterwards by the angrier antagonism of different creeds. This policy will develope itself in the course of this narrative.

After the final and irreparable defeat of Hugh O'Neill, but little resistance was offered to the introduction of English law in Ulster. In a few years the entire province was under its control; it was filled with English garrisons;† patrolled by

he fallen when contentions arose between his sons and the chief of another tribe, who laid claim to the throne of Munster; and on their march homewards the former were opposed by the Prince of Ossory, Mac Gilla Patrick, who demanded hostages. "Hostages or battle?" "Let it be then battle," said the sons of Brian, "for never within the memory of man did a prince of the race of Brian give hostages to a Mac Gilla Patrick." The sequel of this characteristic episode is given in one of Moore's exquisite melodies.

* Hallam's "Constitutional History," ch. 18, p. 463.

† "The following list of garrisons held by the British in Ulster, in May, 1603, compiled from Moryson, (Hist., i. 73, 155, 253; and ii. 131, 184, 208, 356,) will convey

English Judges of Assize ; and the public peace was confided to the guardianship of Sheriffs. There was no trace of Irish customs, the new order of things was established without difficulty, and the natives "were for the first time admitted to the privileges of subjects."* Peace, the daughter of famine and the sword, was proclaimed throughout the devastated districts of Ulster ; and the time had indeed arrived when it had become possible for England to lay the foundations of her power widely and securely in the soil of Ireland.— "Equal laws and civilized customs" had been proclaimed through the land ; the English judges every half year (like good planets in their several spheres and circles†) carried the light and influence of justice round about the kingdom ; and

some idea of the military state of the province :—*Down*. Newry, 100 men ; Lecale, or Downpatrick, including Dundrum and Ardglass, 200 ; Narrow-water ; Greencastle. *Antrim*.—Carrickfergus, 650 ; Toome ; Oldfleet. *Armagh*.—Armagh, 150 ; Mountnorris, 150 ; Enniskillen. *Monaghan*.—Monaghan and Ruske, including some other castles, 350. *Cavan*.—Cavan, 100 ; Cloughaughter ; Ballinacargy. *Fermanagh*.—Enniskillen and some castles garrisoned from Ballyshannon. *Tyrone*. Omagh, 100 ; Charlemont, 150 ; Mountjoy, 350 ; Newtonstewart, 100 ; Dunman, 150 ; Augher. *Derry*.—Derry, 350 ; Culmore, 20 ; Ainogh, 100 ; Coleraine, 100. *Donegall*.—Donegall, Asheraw, Ballyshannon, including castles in Fermanagh, 900, Lifford, 350 ; Dunalong, 150 ; Kilmacrenan, 100 ; Ramullan, 100 ; Doe, 100 ; Cargan, 100 ; and Burt, 150."—*Reid's Hist. Presb. Church in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 76, n. 3.

* *Ib.* p. 74.

† *Davies' "Historical Tracts,"* p. 199. Perhaps there is no quainter simile in the English language—but usable in an attorney-general.

it appeared as if the long contest of the two races had ceased for ever by the subjugation of the Chiefs and Clans of Ireland.

But it was soon discovered that, from the extensive scheme of "equal laws and civilized customs," the greatest portion of the Irish nation was to be carefully excluded by strongly constructed barriers. It had been thought by the Roman Catholics that James was favourable to the faith of his long and princely lineage; and relying upon this erroneous conviction, the people rose in Cork* and Waterford,† with the consent and co-operation of the magistracy, to restore the old religion; they resumed the churches and expelled the ministers, who possessed as lit-

* Smith in his history of Cork gives the following amusing account of the proceedings in that city:—"The citizens every day grew more rebellious; for they burned all the bibles and common-prayer books they could find; they rased out the ten commandments, and other parts of the scripture that were in the churches, that they might wash them over, and paint their old Popish pictures in their stead. They publicly set up the mass, and posted sentinels at the doors of the churches. They had a person named a Legate from the Pope, who went about in procession with a cross, and forced people to reverence it; they buried the dead with the Romish ceremonies, and numbers took the sacrament to defend that religion with their lives and fortunes."—*Smith's History of Cork*, vol. 2, p. 99.

† The same author gives a similar account of the proceedings in Waterford. Speaking of the Catholics, he says, "They broke the doors of the Hospital, and admitted Doctor White to preach a seditious sermon in St. Patrick's Church, wherein, amongst other invectives, he said that Jezabel (meaning Queen Elizabeth) was dead."—*Hist. of Waterford*, p. 143.

tle of the spirit of martyrs and confessors as they did of the piety of saints;* abbeys and monasteries were repaired; the Temples of worship and of charity once more raised their heads over the barbarism which had profaned them; and the ceremonies of the national religion were, for a short period before the darkness set in, celebrated openly and without fear. Leland says, and indeed the local historians of the South of Ireland seem to encourage the statement, that the Catholic clergy went further, and, "with an insolence which no religious principles could excuse," presumed to usurp the functions of the established tribunals, and to enjoin the people, on their salvation, to obey their decisions and not those of the law. But James soon undeceived those who trusted to his clemency or his toleration; he might, and possibly did feel, some tenderness towards the religious tenets of the Catholics; but the doctrine of papal supremacy was a stumbling-block to the

* "In many places there is no minister at all; in many places a number as good as none; even a dumb dog that cannot bark, an idle shepherd, who is not apt to teach nor able to confute; in other places a lewd and scandalous minister, whose not gospel-like behaviour is a stumbling-block to them that are without. Even as the Prince of Cuba in India said that he would not go to heaven if the Spaniards went thither, because he thought that there could be no good place where such tyrants were; so many of this country will not be of our religion, because they think that there can be no true religion which hath such unconscionable ministers."—*Leslie's Sermon at Drogheda*, p. 52. This refers to a period much earlier than the date of the Ulster Plantation; but it continued to be true for a long while afterwards.

pride and egotism of Royalty ; it was "an imperial civil power over kings and emperors, to dethrone and decrown them at the Pope's pleasure."* The result of this jealous and ignorant construction of that which necessarily involved neither the safety of kings, nor the loyalty of subjects, was a fierce persecution against the priests. The King's Council published in Dublin an Act of Uniformity, passed in the second year of Elizabeth's reign in a Parliament of the Pale, by which attendance on Catholic worship was prohibited under severe penalties. It was speedily followed, on the 4th July, 1605, by a proclamation, in which James dissipated the delusions of those who expected religious toleration at his hands. He told his subjects—"his beloved subjects"—that he would not admit any such liberty of conscience as they had fondly expected, and he commanded that by a certain day the Catholic priests should depart the realm.

And then commenced a religious war of great cruelty and greater folly. The magistrates and chief citizens of Dublin were enjoined to repair to the churches of the establishment. Repeated admonitions and conferences, says Leland, served but "to render them more obstinate"—it was strange that it should be so—and the stern logic of fine and imprisonment was freely adopted. The prisons were peopled with recusants ; the priests were forced to fly the country or else to conceal themselves in secret places to avoid the *gibbet* and the lash. The terrors of the penal

* Leland's "Hist. of Ireland," vol. 2, p. 420.

laws, let loose by the theologic fury of the King, were increased by the avarice and cruelty of the sanguinary Chichester. Up to the year 1605 the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, which extended over the greater part of Ulster, had been occupied by Roman Catholic prelates; and the abbeys and monasteries which had been formally dissolved half a century before, still continued to be the centres round which flocked numerous priests, friars, and other ecclesiastical persons. But the publication of the Proclamation was the signal for resuming into the King's hands those edifices of religion, and ejecting their "useless inmates."* And what made these oppressions more bitter in the North was, the striking fact that there, as we may conclude from Davies's Account of Chichester's progress in Ulster in 1607, there was not a single Protestant outside the numerous garrisons of the English. By the same authority we find, that up to this period it was impossible that the principles of the Reformation could have been at all known in Ulster, for no religious teaching had been provided for the people. The tidings of a reformed religion were preached from no pulpit; the rectors and bishops who had been appointed were non-resident; and the Catholics were reduced to the alternative of enduring penalties for the profession of the faith they had been reared in, or

* We can easily understand the propriety of such an epithet, in the mouth of the reverend historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. See Reid's History, vol. 1, p. 78.

embracing a religion in which they had received no spiritual instruction.

We may well imagine it was not without deep rage and disappointment that Hugh O'Neill looked out from his retirement upon the sufferings of his people. His eyes were accustomed to the sights of War, and his mind was familiar with the images of heroic suffering; they would have awakened no pity or pained no sensibility in his heart; but when he sheathed the sword and abdicated his ancient principalities, he had reason to hope that peace would have visited the nation, and that civil oppression would not have followed so closely on the track of famine, fire, and murder. He had seen the province, which was the old inheritance of his house, reduced by the most frightful agencies to the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness.—He had seen its harvests reaped by the sword and had mourned over a ghastly peace produced by desolation. The country was nearly unpeopled, and its pastures wasted by ruthless war. The miserable survivors of the last contests of Liberty, were exposed to the more grievous calamities of famine and pestilence. That wild sensual and warlike people, whose lives were spent between martial contest and the sports and labours of the field, who had roved in freedom through their ancient forests, and driven their flocks from pasture to pasture, were now the victims of the sword, or were chased by their *conquerors* into the wild fastnesses of the land *that once was their own*. This was the fate of

war; but the oppression that ground them to the earth, and which taught them all the bitterness of defeat, came in the placid guise of law. Their religion was proscribed; their churches were seized upon; and their sanctuaries were defiled; their priests were banished the land, or else exposed at home to torture, to infamy, and death. A code framed in legislatures, the abject agents of foreign tyranny, was revived to torture and degrade them. And these cruel oppressions, whilst they inflamed the people, fell far more bitterly on the spirit of their Chief, of him who had left the still unreaped harvest of war, and, vainly trusting perfidious foes, had sheathed the sword in the hope of restoring peace to his afflicted land.

Nor was he without private and peculiar sorrows, which weighed upon his soul, and might well have provoked the treasons of which he was afterwards accused. He had scarcely left the court of England and retired to his own principality, oppressed with the grievous weight of his new dignities, when he found himself struggling in the network of English policy. His rich lands had been turned into Shires; where his will had been the law, the officials of a hateful power were securely settled to distribute new and unheard-of codes; the Commissioners of James surveyed his passes, foreign armies garrisoned his towns, and patrolled the wide and once fertile plains *their arms had rendered desolate*. But *this was not all*; his own steps were dogged by *spies*; every act of his was noted; official *even exalted itself to prophecy*. "Notic

is taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known not only how they live and what they do; *but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do*; insomuch that Tyrowen has been heard to complain, that he had so many eyes watching over him that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof a few hours after."* The import of their prophetic visions is now to be seen; it was a prophecy which fulfilled itself in the destruction of the most ancient families of the Island, and the confiscation of its finest province.

* Sir John Davies.

CHAPTER II.

The Sham Plot—Different versions of the Plot—Flight of Tyrowen—His death at Rome—Proclamation of James—Rebellion of O'Dogherty.

JAMES having thus, by religious persecution and personal indignity, tortured the angry spirit of Tyrowen, hastened to consummate his designs upon the broad lands of Ulster. All the great exertions made by Elizabeth during the last Irish war, and all the extravagance of treasure which victory had cost, would have been a vain outlay of labour and money, if O'Neill and O'Donnell were allowed to retain their lands, and the peasants of Ulster to cultivate in peace the soil they had fought for so well and so long.

A decent pretext, however, was required to authorize James and his councillors to seize upon the extensive domains of the northern chiefs and people. A long war had concluded in a solemn national peace, for the fulfilment of whose terms national honour was pledged.—The conquered people had received the institutions of the conqueror; they had abandoned the customs and the laws, and all but the religion of their country; their Princes and their Kings had *relinquished their ancient honours and accepted a modern nobility; they had surrendered their land*

into the hands of a foreign monarch, and taken them again under a new tenure and new conditions of possession; and all this they did to purchase peace and security, under the most solemn sanctions and the most sacred guarantees. It required no little skill in one of the contracting parties to escape from the conditions of the agreement, and, with a plausible excuse, to perpetrate a great and meditated wrong.

No better mode appeared of effecting the object of James and his courtiers, than a plot, either real or fictitious, which, involving the leading noblemen of Ulster in charges of High Treason, would, by forced construction of law, throw the whole of the land of the Northern province into the grasping and needy hands which awaited its distribution. Circumstances put such an excuse in their way.

There are many versions given of the conspiracy of Tyrowen and Tyrconnell, but the following are those principally adopted by the writers of Irish history. The first and by far the most singular is, that a letter was discovered in the Council Chamber in the Castle of Dublin, without a signature, and directed to Sir William Usher, Clerk of the Council, in which was mentioned a design for seizing the Castle, and murdering the Deputy, and suggesting a general revolt and dependance on Spanish forces; for the purpose of establishing the Catholic religion.* The

* " Temple writes to the same effect, but Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester, a contemporary writer, says:—

" Montgomery, bishop of Derry, suspected, or was told, that Tyrowen had gotten into his hands the greatest

following is the anonymous letter, which was found in the Council Chamber, May 19, 1607. It was taken up by a door-keeper, who carried it

part of the lands of his bishoprick ; which he intended in a lawful course to recover ; and finding there was no man could give him better light or knowledge of these things than O'Cahane (who was intimate with Tyrowen,) made use of such means that he (O'Cahane) came to him of his own accord, and told him he could help him to the knowledge of what he sought, but that he was afraid of Tyrowen ; yet he engaged to reveal all that he knew of that matter, provided the bishop would promise to save him from Tyrowen's violence, and not deliver him into England, which the bishop having promised, he brought O'Cahane to the council in Dublin to take his confession there. Upon this, processes were sent to Tyrowen to warn him to come up to Dublin, at an appointed time, to answer the suit of the lord-bishop of Derry. There was no other intention but in a peaceable way, to bring the suit to a trial ; for the council then knew nothing of the plot. But Tyrowen having entered into a new conspiracy, of which O'Cahane was, began to suspect, when he was served with a process to answer the suit, that this was but a plot to draw him in, and that surely the treason had been revealed by O'Cahane. Upon this bare suspicion, Tyrowen with his confederates fled out of Ireland, and lost all those lands in the North.'—*Thankful Remembrance*, p. 168. citante Curry. It is not likely that O'Cahan, who entered into conspiracy with Tyrowen, and who was a Roman Catholic and a gentleman, would communicate to the usurping Bishop of Derry any information which could injure his ally and friend O'Neill. So vague are the rumours on which Parliament founded its bill of attainder, by which half a million of acres were vested in the crown ! Borlase despatches the matter with his characteristic brevity :—"The said Lord Mountjoy continued for some time Lord Lieutenant, who going for England carried Tyrowen with him ; who was graciously received by the King, and returned with honours not long after. He complotted however fresh rebellions,

to the Lord Deputy, then *most fortunately* sitting in council:—

The letter imported, “that the writer was called into company by some Popish gentlemen, who after administering an oath of secrecy, declared their purpose was to murder or poison the Lord Deputy; to cut off Sir Oliver Lambert; to pick up one by one the rest of the officers of state; to oblige the small dispersed garrisons by hunger to submit, or to penn them up as sheep in the shambles. That the Castle of Dublin, being neither victualled nor manned, they held as their own; that the towns were for them, the country with them: the great ones abroad and in the North were prepared to answer the first alarm; that the powerful men in the West were assured by their agents to be ready, as soon as the state was in disorder: that the Catholic King had promised and the Jesuits from the Pope warranted men and means to second the first stirs, and equally to protect all their actions: that as soon as the state was dissolved and the King’s sword in their hands, they would elect a Governor, Chancellor, and Council: dispatch letters to the King, trusting to his unwillingness to embark in such a war and his facility to pardon; that he would grant them their own conditions of peace and government with toleration of religion; that if he listened not to their motions, then the many days spent in England in debate and preparations, would give them time to breathe, to fortify and furnish the maritime coasts and at leisure to call to their aid Spanish forces from all parts.” The writer goes on to say that he interposed some doubts, “which they readily answered; and he pretended to consent to further their projects; and that he took the method of this letter to give notice of their designs, though he refused to betray his friends: in the mean-

which being detected, and he being proclaimed traitor, he fled privately into Normandy, thence to Flanders, then to Rome, where he lived on the Pope’s allowance, *became blind, and died 1616.*—*Reduction of Ireland, p. 184. ed. of 1675.*

time that he would use his best endeavours to hinder any further practices. That if they did not desist, though he revered the mass and the Catholic Religion equal to the devoutest of them, yet he would make the leaders of that dance know, that he preferred his country's good before their busy and ambitious humours."

Nothing could be more improbable than the statements of this strange letter. The abrupt manner in which are communicated the most desperate intentions, of murdering viceroys and starving armies—the mode in which the writer, professing himself to be a Catholic, speaks of "the Mass," a manner never adopted by Catholics—the minuteness with which each particular of intended rebellion was stated by these conspirators at this meeting, render the occurrence of such meeting more than doubtful, and stamp the whole affair as a design of men anxious to involve the Earls, (who it is to be observed, are never mentioned by name in the letter,) in the charge of treason that they might share in the forfeitures, which were sure to ensue upon their flight or conviction.

Dr. Jones, the Bishop of Meath of the day, says that it was written by a "providential discoverer of another rebellion in Ireland," who was not willing to appear. It was not very likely that such a discoverer should conceal his participation in what government would have looked upon as a most meritorious service, and would have rewarded with its wonted liberality. But guilt was easily

Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," by Archdall, p. 237.
16.

proved, where it was so strenuously desired. A letter without a signature, or any of the marks of an authentic document, dealing in generalities, and lavishly imputing treasons to the most distinguished individuals in the state, was an instrument of bringing home guilt adapted only to the worst forms of tyranny; yet, coupled with the subsequent flight of the supposed traitors, it was at the time admitted as conclusive testimony against them, and has been retailed by nearly all the succeeding historians, without examination or rebuke, as a satisfactory proof of their guilt.

Cox, in his own quaint way, says, "They (meaning Tyrowen and Tyrconnell) had sent a Baron to the Archdukes, and *probably* had employed some one else in Spain."* He does not give any authority for the statement.

But the fullest, and most probably as true an account as any of the affair, is given in the accurate pages of the latest and best of the English historians.† Lingard represents the two Earls as having left the English court with expressions of gratitude and feelings of distrust, feelings embittered by the persecutions then commenced against the Catholics, and the undisguised anxiety of the Scotch courtiers to make settlements in Ireland. In this state of mind, the Earls accepted an invitation from Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, to meet him at the Castle of Maynooth, where in dangerous conference they are said to have imparted to each other their resentful feel-

* Cox's "*History of Ireland*," vol. 2, p. 12.

† Lingard, vol. 9, p. 144—Dolman's edition.

ings, and sworn to defend their rights and their religion by open force.* They did not, however, at that time agree upon any definite scheme of insurrection; their mode of action was to be defensive, and they resolved to have recourse to measures of force only in case their religious liberty was attacked by the king. Two years after, secret information is said to have been received by James, that Tyrowen was renewing his former relations with the King of Spain, and it is to this, probably, that Cox refers. Upon which information, whether true or false, his ruin and that of the other Northern chiefs was determined. A claim was set up to a considerable portion of his lands by direction of the ministers; the Irish government declined to entertain the suit ostensibly on account of its grave nature, but really to entrap Tyrowen over to England, who, however, was a match for the cunning of his enemies. He solicited and obtained a respite of thirty days before appearing in England; and well knowing what the issue of such a visit would be, he and his wife, his younger sons and nephews; Tyrconnell, with his son and brother; and thirty other persons, embarked in a vessel which had arrived from Dunkirk, and after a few days' voyage arrived at Quillebecque, in Normandy.†

* Lynch's "Alithinologia. Supp." 186; in O'Connor's "Historical Address," 11, p. 226.

† Reid takes the plot for granted, and without vouchsafing a single authority, says—"Irritated at this resolution of James, (namely, to hang the priests, &c.,) and urged on by the disaffected clergy, several of the Northern nobles who had been previously favoured

The Abbé Mac Geoghegan slightly varies from Lingard's account. He says, and in this he agrees with Anderson in his "Genealogies," that St. Lawrence, Baron of Howth, entrapped the two Earls and the Baron Delvin to a conference, the particulars of which he divulged to government; that Tyrowen and other Lords were summoned before the Council and denied the accusation; that they were directed to attend next day; that before the next day came, some false friends of theirs in the Council advised them to fly; and

him and had sworn fealty to the Crown, *entered into a conspiracy against his government* and applied to the courts of France and Spain to aid them in subverting English power in Ireland. The plot was happily discovered before the time appointed for its execution had arrived."—*Reid's Hist. Presb. Church in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 75. The plot was generally considered to be what Dr. Anderson describes it, a contrivance of Cecil, who was, as Osburne calls "an adept in state tricks." Dodd in his "Ecclesiastical History," says—"Cecil was an adept in framing fictitious plots, and has left instructions behind him to succeeding ministers, when and how to make use of them against the Catholics. The original of these instructions, in *Cecil's handwriting*, was formerly in the keeping of the infamous Judge Bradshawe, by whom it was shown to Sir William Percival, who communicated it to a gentleman of great worth who died in 1697, and left it amongst other papers of remarks upon the times."—*Dodd's Ecc. Hist.*, vol. 3, fol. 196. This, it is true, requires more confirmation; but when we recollect Cecil's character, and that his system was worked after Cecil's death as Cecil's self would have worked it, we must acknowledge that the mere mapping of his own paths for the benefit of his successors can add nothing to his infamy or their originality; when, too, we see the same practices continued to the present day, we must pronounce him to have been the transmitter of a system that is intrinsically English.

that the Earls accordingly relinquishing their intention of appearing a second time in the Council Chamber, and embarking at Lough Swilly sailed thence to France.

On looking at all the authorities, it is by no means clear that any design of insurrection was ever entertained by the two Earls; it is most certain, that the report which was spread of an intended massacre of the English, was in every particular false. There is not a tittle of evidence adduced to prove so monstrous a charge, even in the elaborate argument of James, which may be seen in his long and pedantic proclamation.* Yet the story of the plot, and the report of the intended Sicilian Vespers, are repeated successively by nearly every English historian that writes of that period. Anderson, in his "Royal Genealogies," is an exception to the dull reiteration of falsehood. He gives a short and contemp-

* Appendix I. The report that Tyrowen intended a massacre, is thus given by Boderie, ambassador of the King of France:—"La conspiration etoit á ce qui se publie maintenant parmi ce peuple, de faire des Vêpres Siciliennes sur tous les Anglais qui sont en Irlande, et puis y rétablir la Religion Catholique. Je ne sçais si le principal but dudit Comte eut é de profiter à la religion; mais quoi qu'il eu soit ce qu'il à fait n'y a point déjà été nuisible. Car la verité est que depuis cela, on n'a pas si severément poursuivi les Catholiques, comme on faisoit auparavant." "They give out here that the conspiracy was to make a Sicilian Vespers on all the English who were in Ireland, and then to re-establish the Catholic religion. I am not sure that the principal end of the said Earl was to benefit religion; but as far as he has as yet gone, he has not done it any harm. For the truth is, that since this business, they have not persecuted the Catholics so severely as they did before." — Boderie, *loc. cit.*, 1607, ii. p. 488.

tuons notice of the conspiracy: "Artful Cecil employed one St. Lawrence* to entrap the Earls of Tyrowen and Tyrconnell, the Lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his. But those chiefs being informed that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, which was what their enemies wanted."† Artful Cecil, was Robert, Earl of Salistury, who, according to some historical opinions, was the contriver of the Gunpowder Plot;‡ but who, at all events, profited largely by its discovery.

The only circumstance which gave any colour

* St. Lawrence was a fit tool of Cecil. Camden says, that he offered to murder Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir Thomas Gerald, to prevent their conveying reports of Essex to the queen; but Essex who, whatever were his faults, was chivalrous and noble, scornfully refused the bloody service.—*Eliz.* 741.

† Anderson's "Royal Genealogies;" p. 786.

‡ The character of Cecil is uninteresting to Irish readers. But it may be observed, as a matter of historical accuracy, that the preponderance of evidence is against the fact of his having *contrived* the Gunpowder Plot. Dr. Lingard attributes it altogether to Catesby—he calls it his Plot; and gives good reasons for his adoption of so desperate a remedy to assuage his grievances. *Lingard*, vol. 8, p. 32. Butler in his "Memoirs of British and Irish Catholics," devotes an admirable and temperate chapter to the vindication of the greatest enemy of his faith. *Butler*, vol. 2, p. 172. At the same time he quotes four Protestant authorities: Osburne—*Secret Author of the Protestant Plea*, to prove that Cecil's guilty contrivance was generally believed. But there is

to the charge against the Earls, was their secret flight into France. It was said that if innocent, they should have stood their ground and proved their freedom from imputed guilt, nor left their estates and dependants to the discretion of the King and of his courtiers. But Tyrowen was forewarned that witnesses would be suborned against him, and his own experience of English law had taught him not to trust to the false testimony and well-assorted juries, which had already done such execution upon his friends. And, as for standing on the defensive, the Earls had no mili-

no evidence of any fact against him. He certainly knew of the plot early in its progress, and sham plots were greatly in vogue; but this was as real as it was sanguinary and dangerous, and a minister, without any conscience but great talent, might well consider that he had a right to make use of his knowledge, sooner or later, as he judged it prudent. The writers who insist on the guilty contrivance of this minister are, amongst others, Lord Castlemaine, and in our days the author of the interesting and eloquent "Memoir of Hugh O'Neill," in the "Library of Ireland," page 237. "It seems to be the opinion of the ablest historians of these times, that the new-made Earl (of Salisbury) stood indebted for all his honours and preferments in this reign, to a disposition which led him to a ready compliance with his master's wishes; and it is asserted, that he encouraged James to extend the royal prerogative beyond the limits prescribed to it by the laws of the land."—*Playfair's Family Antiquity*, vol. 1, p. 185. There seems to be some sort of historic justice in the following facts: James, the fourth earl in descent from Robert Cecil, became a Catholic, and narrowly escaped prosecution for his apostasy, and impeachment for his rebellion in conspiring to restore James the Second. The latter is a singular instance of gratitude in that order to the unhappy Stuart—*Lodge's Genealogy of the British Peerage*, p. 431.

tary resources; the spirit of the people was broken, as well by the treachery of some of their own chieftains during the late war, as by the arms of England; it would have been, under such circumstances, impossible to have collected an army able to withstand a king so powerful as James. They pursued the only course open to them; they fled from a country where they could not live safely in peace, nor die honourably in war. Possibly they hoped to revisit Ireland, fortified by foreign assistance—the most insecure and fatal reliance of a people struggling for Liberty. In this hope they were signally disappointed—their political existence terminated with the freedom of the country they had so reluctantly abandoned.

The sequel of their personal history, though not necessary to this narrative, is full of interest. In the Autumn of 1607, there embarked at Lough Swilly, Hugh O'Neill, Catherine his wife, and three sons; Roderick O'Donnell, his brother Cathbar, and his sister Nuala; Rose, the wife of Cathbar, and their son Hugh, a child of two years, and a very numerous and distinguished company. It was a mournful group, that fugitive family, leaving for ever the scenes of their affections, of their glory, and of their ruin. "It is certain that the sea has not borne, and the wind has not wafted, in modern times, a number of persons in one ship more illustrious, eminent, or noble in point of genealogy, heroic deeds, feats of arms, and valiant achievements, than the *Would that God had permitted them to remain in their patrimonial inheritances until their ch*

dren should have come to the years of manhood ! Woe to the heart that meditated and the mind that conceived, and the council that recommended the project of this expedition, without knowing whether they should to the end of their lives be able to return to their native principalities or patrimonies." * In a few days they arrived at Quilbecque in Normandy. The English ambassador at the court of Henry IV. demanded the Irish exiles as traitors to the King of England. James himself issued a long proclamation charging them with their treasons, their immoralities, their low birth, and their rapacity; but France, ever friendly and hospitable to Irishmen, refused to credit the impossible falsehoods of his manifesto, or to surrender into his sanguinary hands those who had entrusted themselves to their clemency and friendship. The other foreign courts followed the example of France; they treated the Earls and their followers as martyrs to the love of country and to their fidelity in religion; they were cheered by the sympathy of Europe, and were received every where with the greatest distinction. Many of them entered the Spanish army which was then engaged in endeavouring to extirpate civil and religious liberty in the United Provinces; †

* "Annals of the Four Masters." It is difficult to understand the reasonableness of the last imprecation. We can solve it only by reference to the Abbé's version of the "Flight of the Earls." Most probably the denunciation was intended to fall on those false friends in the Council who advised them to fly. This, with the project of returning with Spanish troops, would account for the whole.

† One regrets that this was the service which the expropriated Irish generally adopted. It may however be

the Earl of Tyrconnell and Maguire of Fermanagh died shortly after the flight from Ireland; one in Italy and the other in Geneva; and Hugh O'Neill proceeded to Rome where he lived on the monthly alms of the Pope and of the King of Spain. A miserable fate for a man who possessed in the highest degree the qualities of statesman and hero; a man "of great industry, large soul, and capacity for the weightiest businesses." Old and blind, and worn down by his private cares and the great afflictions of his country, he died in the Holy City in 1616. A few years afterwards his son was found strangled in his bed at Brussels.

In the Convent of St. Isidore, at Rome, there is a valuable Irish manuscript, containing a full account of the cause of Hugh O'Neill's flight, his various and painful journeys, from that fatal moment when he bid his last farewell to his princely demesnes until his melancholy death. It would be conferring a great obligation on the history of Ireland, if this manuscript were rescued from the moths and the hand of Time.*

The flight of the Earls was rapidly followed by a commission of oyer and terminer, "to take," as Leland says, "the speediest advantage of this

in their defence, that they looked upon the Spaniards as akin in blood and of a common origin with themselves, and as professing the same religion. In addition to which it must be remembered that the English were the allies of the Dutch, and the opportunity of meeting their enemies was too tempting to be lost.

** I obtained this information from a gentleman to whom I am much indebted for valuable assistance. Probably some of the reverend gentlemen of Maynooth will yet render the above service to the biography of a great man*

incident." Justice Sibthorpe and Baron Eliot were sent into the counties of Donegal and Tyrone; indictments were found against the Earls and all who were supposed to have been concerned in the conspiracy; many were taken and executed, and process of outlawry issued against those who had fled from the country.*

Whilst the law was busy in its vocation, the king was not idle. He saw, with considerable indignation, that his outlawed and fugitive subjects were honourably received in foreign courts; he feared that their representations of his bigoted oppression would meet with a ready credence from the sympathy of Catholic Europe, and he resolved to prevent such a result by publishing a statement of his own case. And the Proclamation (dated 15th Nov. 1607,) which, in pursuance of this design, was issued, is the basest

* Richard, Baron Delvin, was arrested in 1617, and committed to the Castle for High Treason. But his servant contrived to convey to Alexander Aylmer, "his gentleman," some cord, by which he was enabled to effect his escape. Wingfield the Marshal was despatched in pursuit with a detachment of horse, but Delvin was not caught. He submitted next year, and received a full pardon 18th July, 1608. In the celebrated parliaments of 1613 and 1615 he sat, and his deserts were so great as to have gained for him the Peerage of Westmeath. He was afterwards an ambassador, or rather an umpire, between the Irish Catholics and Charles the First. In the "Popish rebellion" he and his wife, both advanced in years, were assaulted when travelling, their carriage stopped, and the lady wofully misused. This pressed upon his mind, and he died in 1641. The full details of his unhappy death are given graphically enough Lodge's "Peerage" by Archdall, vol. 1, p. 240.

and most despicable document preserved amongst the state papers of the English government.

It stated, what was notoriously false, that the Earls were "base and rude in their original;" that they had not their possessions by lawful or lineal descent from ancestors of blood or virtue; and that their only reason for flight was the private knowledge and inward terror "of their own guiltiness." A much more unblushing falsehood was, that they had endured no molestation on the ground of religion, and that the manners of the Earls were so barbarous and unchristian that it would be unreasonable to trouble them about any form of faith. Much more to this purpose, equally malignant and untrue, did James's Proclamation contain; but it was without effect. Its manifest falsehood and undisguised rancour deprived it of any power to work evil against the fugitives, in that quarter where James was most anxious to misrepresent and injure them. They continued the honoured guests of the courts of Europe, illustrious examples of the great reverses of fortune, and of the perfidy of monarchs.

By the flight of the Earls, six counties in Ulster fell to the disposal of the crown. The only title, however, which James could have had to these counties was by forfeiture arising from the attainder for flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell. But it has been well remarked by an eminent lawyer and historian, that it was singular that his own proclamation should divest him of that title.* "Wee doo hereby declare that these

* O'Connell's "Ireland and the Irish," ch. 2, p. 193.

had not their creations or possessions in re-
of any lawful or lineall descent."* If they
no legal title, how could a forfeiture, worked
their attainder for flight, transfer a title to
as? There could be no transfer of a non-ex-
t thing. The course of events, however, was
est criticism on the king's proclamation.

However anxious James was "to indulge his
on for reforming Ireland by the introduc-
of English law and civility," he was diverted
the immediate pursuit of the object by an
reaction in the North of Ireland. Sir Cahir
Sherty, the prince of Inishowen, "a man of
hopes but few years,"† determined to assert
dependence, and to fling off the galling su-
acy of English laws and customs. His in-
action occurred in 1608, and for five months
a very threatening aspect. He surprised
town of Derry, and slew the governor, Sir

The Irish chiefs possessed the *suzerainte* but not the
rty of the soil: consequently the guilt of O'Neill
O'Donnell, though even so clearly proved, could not
the right of their feudatories, who were not even ac-
of treason. The English law of forfeiture, in itself
iently unjust, never declared that the interests of
ent tenants should be sacrificed for the rebellion of
ndlords; it only placed the king in the place of the
n whose property had been forfeited, and left all
elations of the tenantry unaltered. Yet were all
tual holders of lands in these devoted districts dis-
ssed without even the shadow of a pretence; and
abominable wickedness is even at the present day
ised by many as the consummation of political wis-
-*De Beaumont's Ireland*, vol. 1, Translator's note
7.

5, vol. 2, p. 13.

George Paulet; he took various English stations, and continued a vigorous guerilla warfare, until "a happy shot, which smote him on the head, settled that business." His followers dispersed after his death, and any who fell into the hands of the English were executed "with a necessary severity."* This was the last blow struck in Ulster, which thenceforward presented a scene of loyalty and desolation excellently suited to the reforming spirit of the king. A large tract of land in the six northern counties, Tyrowen, the principality of O'Neill; Coleraine or Derry, O'Cahan's country; Donegal, the principality of O'Donnell; Fermanagh, M'Gwire's country; Cavan, O'Reilly's country; and Armagh, fell to the lot of James by a forced construction of the law of forfeiture and escheat. The suppression of O'Dogherty's insurrection cleared the way to the completion of the policy of fraud and violence by which a splendid country was torn from its just possessors; by which the old laws of property were overturned, and an ancient people banished from the dwellings of their fathers. By these rebellions or these "sham plots," five hundred thousand acres escheated to the crown—a foreign law handed over the domains of the fugitive Chiefs to the "king's passion for reforming Ireland by the introduction of English civility;"† and we shall soon see how fully he indulged this passion, and how much at the expense of his Irish subjects.

* *Leland*, vol. 2, p. 429.

† *Leland*, vol. 2, p. 424. The historian is an excellent apologist of robbery.

CHAPTER III.

The Spirit of Plantation—Attempted Plantation of Sir Thomas Smith—of the Earl of Essex—The War of Desmond—Munster pacified—Plantation of Munster—Settlement of the Montgomeries in the Ardes of Down.

THE plantation of James, though the most consummate and finished of all the Irish plantations, was by no means an original thought. From the first settlement of the English in Ireland, they had but one object—the *acquisition of estates at the expense of the natives*. Hence the latter were always considered in the light of enemies, who were to be exterminated; or barbarians, who were to be civilized by the simple process of robbery. Religion gave another excuse to fraud and plunder; the Catholics, who were the owners of the soil, chiefs and people, required the purifying influences of the Reformation, and these they received by the confiscation of their lands, and the violent seizure of their property.

Whatever was the pretence, the end was the same. To punish "disloyal rebels and traitors"—to civilize a barbarous people—to establish true religion;—for such wise and Christian purposes there appeared to the English government in Ireland, and the "hungry vultures that haunted the Castle," no surer means than to rob and ~~defraud~~ *defraud the natives*, to root them out by the sword, and to plant Scotchmen and Englishmen in their

ancient homes. And there are not a philosophic historians who look complacent at this process of civilization, and pious who can see nothing but the extension of religious principle in acts of wholesale spoliation.*

The reign of Elizabeth, so pregnant with form of oppression, was abundant in instances of the systematic spoliation to which the Plantation has been given; and it is enough before proceeding to detail the projects and performances of James, that we should give a glance at the attempts made by his sensual, and despotic predecessor.†

Cox presents us with the germ of systematic plunder. "He says that so far back as the year 1559 it was one of the instructions given to the Earl of Sussex when he came over as Lord Deputy "to people Ulster with English." But Sussex was sufficiently engaged in Leinster, he had reduced Leix and Offally into shires by the name of King's and Queen's County, where he was spreading civilization by the

* Hume, Hallam, and Reid *passim*. Reid is a materialist, one of the old Scotch spawn of James's system. It would be strange if, in his impartial scheme of plunder which James executed would not be a special favour; and it has.

† In 1582, Sir John Perrott presented to Elizabeth his "opinion for the suppressing of rebellion, and the well governing of Ireland," in which he recommended the cutting down the wood for the navy and the employment of shipwrights in convenient places, Cork, Wexford, and Belfast. Nothing appears to have resulted from this plan of an useful plantation. It was evidently acquisitive for the taste of the Queen's

agencies of fire and sword, and he had no time to fulfil these commands of the English court. An offer was, however, made ten years later by Sir Thomas Gerrard of Lancashire for the planting of the Glynnes and Clandeboy. His proposal is of the date of the 15th March, 1569.* But, however agreeable any scheme of the kind might have been to the taste of the court, no steps were at that time taken in pursuance of Gerrard's proposition.

The first attempt that was absolutely made was that of Sir Thomas Smith, the Secretary to the Queen, in 1572. Sir Thomas Smith was of a speculative turn and had a family to provide for. He did not look abroad for foreign settlements,† but conceived the sensible notion of making an ample provision for a bastard son, by a grant of Irish lands; and circumstances favoured his paternal intentions. In the Parliament of 1569 Shane O'Neill had been attainted for various treasons, conspiracies, and rebellions, and a great part of his territories of Antrim and Down had been forfeited to the Crown. From the Glynnes of Antrim to the Ardes of Down, all passed by this forfeiture, and Sir Thomas Smith represented to the Queen the propriety of colonizing the forfeited estates with English settlers, who *having an interest in the soil*, would be willing to oppose the natives without expense to the

* Shirley's account of the "Dominion of Farney in the Earldom of Ulster," p. 47. This is an excellent local history.

† *Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 253.

Crown.* The adventurous youth was commissioned to lead his colony into the Ardes in Down—an ancient territory of the O'Neills. It is a peninsula eighteen miles long. To every footman of his goodly company of plunderers were granted one hundred and twenty acres; to every horseman one hundred and forty at the moderate rent of a penny by the acre. The result was that the districts they settled in became a wilderness of savage warfare; when unfortunately for the interests of "English civility" and of the youthful planter, "the whole design was defeated by the assassination of young Smith, who fell by the *treachery* of one of the O'Neills."†

Another, and equally unsuccessful, attempt to plant Ulster, was made in 1573, by a more distinguished minion of the Queen, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. Elizabeth embarked with that noble Earl in his project of colonizing *Clan-aodh-buidhe*, in Ulster.‡ The first attempt at

* Lingard, vol. 8, p. 127; a bargain in which the planter pays, by wholesale murder, for the privilege of wholesale robbery. This creates naturally an interest in the soil!

† Leland, vol. 2, p. 254. We shall presently see how Essex dealt with "one of the O'Neills."

‡ Amongst the crimes which stain the memory of Elizabeth, one of the worst is that of having been a partner of Sir John Hawkins, the great seaman, in prosecuting the slave trade. I mention it, because it indicates that cupidity of nature and that indifference to human suffering, which caused Ireland to endure so much at her hands. The renowned mariner, who had, like most of the seamen of the day, a dash of the pirate in him, made several voyages to the coast of Africa for negroes—bartering hides, sugar, and ginger for the human commo-

colonization had turned a fertile and quiet district into a scene of war and desolation; and a similar attempt with similar results was now to be made under the auspices of the Queen and the Earl.

The contract between Essex and Elizabeth is variously stated. Lodge in his sketch of the Earl, states, that Phelim O'Neill had possessed himself of a portion of Clan-aodh-buidhe, (or Clanhugh-boy, or Clandeboy,) from which Essex undertook to dislodge him, on condition that Elizabeth would grant to the conquerors and their leader one half of the subdued district, for the defence of which he stipulated that he would maintain for two years, at his own cost, two hundred horse and four hundred foot; and to provide himself with the means, he mortgaged his estates in Essex to Elizabeth for ten thousand pounds.* Lingard says, that the agreement was, that the Queen and the Earl should furnish each half the expense, and should divide the colony when it should be peopled with 2000 settlers. This bargain of fraud and crime was sealed by Essex with a desperate act of villany.

dity. In 1567 he fitted out a piratical fleet of six vessels for the purposes of this traffic, and it depends much on the estimate we have formed of Elizabeth, whether we shall be greatly surprised at learning that two of the largest pirates belonged to her. This adventure was not much more successful than her bargain with Essex.—*Lingard* vol. 8, p. 259. The edition of *Lingard* used in this book is *Dolman's*, London 1814.

Lingard, vol. 8, p. 128. Mr. Shirley in his excellent book, says, that the State Paper Office contain

On his arrival in Ulster, he met a most formidable opposition from Phelim O'Neill, which resulted after a great deal of hard fighting in a solemn peace between them. "However," say the manuscript Irish annals of Elizabeth's reign, "at a feast wherein the Earl entertained that chieftain, and at the end of their good cheer, O'Neill with his wife were seized; the friends who attended were put to the sword before their faces; Phelim, with his wife and brother, were conveyed to Dublin, where *they were cut up in quarters*. (Anno. 1573.) The execution gave universal discontent and horror."* But this atrocity was of little service to the Earl's plantation. His provisions were unsound, and

many interesting documents connected with this, as it proved, unfortunate expedition. "A note of the Indenture between the Queen and the Earl of Essex, dated July 23, 15th of Elizabeth, touching the moiety of Clanhuboy," and a paper amongst the Carew manuscripts entitled, "The offer of Walter, Earle of Essex, touching the inhabitinge of the North of Ireland." It appears by these documents, that Essex received from the Crown, a "Grant of the dominion of Clanhuboy, Rowte, Glynnce, Raughlins, and all other lands belonging to those countries in the Earldome of Ulster, and all lands and tenements from Knockfergus Bay, including the river of Belfast directly to the next part of the Loghe end, from the Loghe to the Bann, and so to the sea along the Bann, and from the Bann all about the land by the sea coast, includinge also the Isle of Raughlins and all the Isles upon the sea coaste, till Knockfergus Bay and all lands within that district."—*Shirley's Dominion of Farnes*, p. 49.

* *Lingard* quotes this, and gives credit to its statements, vol. 2, p. 257.

his troops ill provided with arms: he was abandoned by Lords Dacre and Rich, and many other gentlemen adventurers, and the authorities in Ireland threw every obstacle in his way. He relinquished in disgust his government of Ulster, and the lands which he had seized upon reverted to their old possessors, a Scotch clan of the Mac Donnells, who had made settlements there and intermarried with the natives.* The only relics of the attempted Plantation, the only blessings it left behind were the founders of the noble families of Downshire, Templetown, and Massarene. Others also of the officers of Essex, less noble, remained; such as the Dalways and the Dobbs, &c. Neither Essex nor his mistress profited much by this foray.

The greatest Plantation (before that of James) was that which ensued at the termination of the war against the last Desmond, and after the entire destruction of his princely house. The great earl possessed vast estates, upon which the eyes of the English adventurers and undertakers had long been lovingly cast. In Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, his prodigious principality extended over 150 miles, and contained 574,624 acres, on which were built numerous houses and castles.

* Walter Devereux died suddenly in Dublin, some said poisoned by the procurement of Leicester, who had, during Essex's absence in Ireland, two children by his faithless Countess. There is a great deal of immoral gossip about the matter, which will be found in a note in *Lingard's History*, vol. 8, p. 129. Elizabeth was much annoyed with Leicester's intrigue with the Countess. But Leicester was then in high favour with the Queen.

This extensive territory was covered with great herds of cattle and presented an aspect of high cultivation. The Earl was Lord Palatine of Kerry, and Lord of Imokilly. His vassals were numerous and there were above 500 gentlemen of his ancient lineage.* He possessed various rights of tolls, wrecks and other royalties. His barbaric wealth and splendour were too tempting, to escape the acute and watchful spoliators who formed the retinue of English government in Ireland—his doom was sealed by his very greatness; nor did the partizans of government affect to deny that his estates were too enormous and his dignities too numerous to be enjoyed by a subject.

At the commencement of the great Geraldine war, the earl had stood aloof; he had denounced the atrocities committed by his brother Sir John Desmond; but his professions of royalty were disregarded, and Sir William Pelham, the Lord Deputy, † summoned him to surrender himself a prisoner within 20 days. He refused, for he well knew what his fate would have been if he were mad enough to trust himself to the hands of an English Deputy. "It is quarrel and cause enough to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles." ‡ He was thus precipitated into war,

* "He levied coyne and livery upon his tennants in Limerick. He had all the wrecks of the sea in the ports and creeks of Kerry, and a certain sum out of every fishing boat in the port of Ventry and Ferreter's Island. It was said that he was able to raise, at a call, 2000 foot and 600 horse."—*Smith's History of Cork*, vol. 1, p. 88.
 † *Taylor's "Civil Wars,"* vol 1. p. 197.
 ‡ *Fuller; quoted in "Civil Wars,"* ubi sup.

which he waged with great spirit and energy against Pelham, and afterwards against the inhuman Grey. Never in the annals of cruelty, not in those of Pizzaro and Cortes or any other of those foul adventurers who under the banners of the Cross performed all the atrocities of hell, has the war with Desmond been equalled for its horrors.*

* "After Desmond's death, and the entire suppression of his rebellion, unheard-of cruelties were committed on the provincials of Munster (his supposed former adherents) by the English commanders. Great companies of these provincials, men, women and children, were often forced into castles and other houses, which were then set on fire. And if any of them attempted to escape from the flames, they were shot or stabbed, by the soldiers, who guarded them. It was a diversion to these monsters of men, to take up infants on the point of their spears, and whirl them about in their agony; apologizing for their cruelty by saying, that 'if they suffered them to grow to live up, they would become popish rebels.' Many of their women were found hanging on trees, with their children at their breasts, strangled with the mother's hair."—*Lombard. Comment. de Hibern.* p. 535, &c. The killing of infants and ripping up of women appear a favourite device of brutal English cruelty. A historian, certainly not partial to Ireland, says "That Sir Willam St. Leger, (Lord President of Munster,) was so cruel and merciless, that he caused men and women to be most execrably executed; that he ordered amongst others a woman great with child to be ripped up, from whose womb three babes were taken out, through every one of whose little bodies his soldiers thrust their weapons."—*Carte's Ormond*, vol. 3, p. 51. Yet this great brutality is not original to the barbarians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; its practice may have been left in England with other monuments of the most savage of her many conquerors, the Danes.

"Let it not be imagined that our Irish annalists b

Leland says, that Desmond who had engaged in the rebellion inconsiderately, (and from a man so purely English in his politics, this may be

drawn an exaggerated picture of Danish barbarities. The English historians pourtray their cruelties in equally strong colours. The cruel Gutrum, (says one of these historians,) arrived in England, A.D. 878, with an army of heathenish Danes, equally cruel as himself, who, like barbarous savages, destroyed all before them with fire and sword, involving cities, towns and villages with their inhabitants in devouring flames, and cutting those in pieces with their battle-axes who attempted to escape from their burning houses. And again, hoary-headed old men were seen lying with their throats cut before their own doors, the streets covered with the bodies of young men and children without heads, hands, or feet, and of matrons and virgins who had been first publicly dishonoured, and then put to death, and indecently exposed to public gaze."—*J. Wallingford apud Gale*, p. 536. "These barbarians, say the English writers, were accustomed to tear babes from the bosoms of their mothers, toss them up into the air, and catch them in their descent, on the points of their spears, as if cruelty and infanticide were sports congenial to their souls."—*Anglia Sacra*, t. 2. p. 155. The English in their campaigns in Ireland appear to have been animated by relentless enmity to the natural fertility of the country:—"The soldiers," as we learn from Moryson, "encouraged by the example of their officers, every where cut down the standing corn with their swords, and devised every means to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the necessities of life. Famine was judged the speediest and most effectual means of reducing them. The like expedient was practised in the northern provinces. The governor of Carrickfergus, Sir Arthur Chichester, issued from his quarters, and for twenty miles round reduced the country to a desert. Sir Samuel Bagnal, with the garrison of Newry, proceeded with the same severity, and laid waste all the adjacent lands."—*M. Skimmin's Carrickfergus*, p. 38.

taken as an exculpation,) now saw "the whole extent of his territory ravaged and depopulated without mercy. His miserable vassals were abandoned to daily slaughter, or to the still more horrid calamity of famine."* Fire, famine, and slaughter were let loose upon the doomed districts, and the worse than cannibal English soldiers relentlessly destroyed men, women, and infants. One of the plunderers who afterwards profited by the spoil of the Geraldine, and whose sweet poetry has earned for him a fame for gentleness, his political writings scarcely merit, has, in terse and picturesque language, chronicled the horrors which made his fortune.† Amongst the most distinguished for rapacity and bloodthirstiness in this campaign was Sir Walter Raleigh; he executed every bloody order he received from Grey without remorse; and when we remember his conduct in Ireland we are almost involuntarily reconciled to that sure but slow dispensation of providence which at length reached and crushed him.‡

The house of Desmond fell before the arms of England, and its last Earl met an obscure and painful death at the hands of a traitor whose

* Leland, vol. 2, p. 277.

† Golden Fort surrendered at discretion. Grey decided on an example, and ordered the garrison to be butchered. Raleigh executed the butchery; and the gentle Spenser defended it. He calls Grey "the good Lord."

‡ By a singular propriety, he was found guilty of *treasons he had not committed*, and ordered for execution by the meanest tyrant that ever swayed a sceptre. There was much to redeem his early crimes. He was an ornament to literature, a good historian, and a graceful P.

name has been preserved to infamy.* His ended the war though not the butcheries of soldiers, and when Munster was *pacified* extermination, (the most feasible mode of pacification as yet adopted,†) and the Queen was declared to be reigning over ashes and carcases, the Parliament was summoned, 1585, and the late Earl Desmond was attainted. A feoffment made him was produced to save the forfeiture, which was said to be of a date prior to the rebellion there were some honest men in the house, and they were about to decide in favour of the point. But an original document, being the minute of an association to be formed against the Queen's government, was produced by the crown, bearing date before the feoffment. The document was received and the feoffment was declared fraudulent, though after the drawing up of the former and before the latter, Desmond had submitted and had been received into favour. The late Earl of Desmond and about one hundred and forty of his associates were then attainted, and all their honours and estates declared to be forfeited.‡

* Daniel Kelly of Moriarta. He was, though first rewarded for his services, afterwards hanged at Tyburn.

† Moore's "Captain Rock," p. 50, a good history of Ireland.

‡ An inquisition was afterwards held to discover the persons who were engaged in Desmond's rebellion. The following list may be interesting; and it must be remembered that nearly all these were attainted:—"Patrick Condon, of Cloghleigh, esq.; Sir John Desmond, *knt.*; John Pigott, esq.; Sir John Fitz-Gerald, *knt.*; James Fitz-Gerald, *knt.*; Edmund Fitz-Gerald, *Esq.*

plunder which fell to the lot of the Queen or English subjects was enormously large. Lord's estates alone amounted to over half million of acres. And thus, to use the lan-

of Curribehy; Edmund Power, of Ballyinnagh Mac Cormac Oge, of Loughfaily; Dermot Leary, of Carrignecuragh; Richard Fitz-Garret, of Dromada; Dermot Mac Edmund Oge, of Bantry; Mac Edmund Oge, of the same; Conogher Mac Mac Rory, of the same; Teig Mac Daniel Mac of the same; Teig Roe Mac Fineen, of the same; Mac Fineen, of the same; Eugene Mac Fineen, of the same; Daniel Mac Conogher Mac Mahony, of the same; Maurice Fitz-Gerald, of Carigoline; Ulick of Curribehy; Cormac Mac Carty; David Mac of Coshnekily; Maurice Fitz-Edmund Garret of Dromadourcy; John Fitz-Garret Mac Shane of the Wood; Gibbon Roe Mac Shane Oge, of the same; Peter O'Mahony, of Castlemahon; Rory O'Donoghue, of Ross-Donoghoe; John Barry, of Ballygoran; Mac Conogher, of Drumbeg; James Fitz-John, of Linkerry; John Fitz-David Condon, of Kilbree; John Fitz-David, of Rahenisky; Feneen Mac Art, of Dromadourcy; Gerald Fitz-Richard, of Ballynaclashy; Peter Donnel Mac Art, of Glanprehan; Thady O'Keefe, of Dromadourcy; Edward Barry, of Bragoge; Richard of Castle-magner; John Fitz-Edmond, of Bally-; John Fitz-James Fitz-Edmond, of Tymacmague; Fitz-Richard Fitz-Morris, of Ballintemple; John of Dromadourcy; Martin Fitz-Richard Fitz- of Curribehy; John Fitz-Edmond, of Bally-; Patrick Callaghan, of Clonmeene; Richard of Rinkinfucky; Garret Fitz-John, alias Mac of Ballymacudy; John Supple, of Ightergh; Fordorough Mac William Mac Brien, of Dromadourcy; William White, of White's-island; Edmund William Oge, of Garran-James; Richard Mac of Lisquinlan; Gerald Supple, of Ightermuragh; Mac Carty, of Kilbolane; Theobald Rock, of

guage of her admirers, was every obstacle removed to Elizabeth's favourite scheme of re-peopling Munster (after having burned its towns, destroyed the dwellings of its people, and depopulated its broad lands) with an English colony. She forthwith ordered letters to be written to every county, to encourage the beggarly cadets of families to become *undertakers* in

Creg; James Gare, of the Island of Inchydonny; Teig Mulrian, of Owny O'Mulrian. In the same Inquisition, the manor of Glyn, alias Cullin, the castle and 30 carucats of land of Cloghroe, the island of Inchydonny, and the ancient corporation of Ballynemony, were found to belong to the Queen.

The same jury enquired into the death of James Barret, of Barret's country, and made a return thereof.

They also presented the names of all persons whom they suspected were apt to work mischief, and were ill disposed to the government. They also made a return of all the abbeys and religious houses which were in this county, and became annexed to the crown. They presented the names of such persons, in this county (Cork), as held lands of the Queen, by knights service in capite; and died, leaving their heirs in minority, with the quantity and value of all such lands. They returned all such as alienated their lands without license; also, an account of lands concealed from her majesty in this county, which fell to the crown by escheat, attainder, suppression of abbeys, and who were then in possession of them. At the same time, there is another presentment of the grand jury of this county, shewing how, and in what manner, the earl of Desmond's rents were paid; and a list of all the Irish poets, chroniclers, and rhymers, that were then in this county. All which presentments are preserved in the Lambeth library, according to a catalogue of them among the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.—*Smith's History of Cork*, vol. 1. pp. 51, 52.

Ireland.* The forfeitures were divided into seignories, and granted by letters patent to English knights, esquires, and gentlemen, and they *undertook* to perform certain conditions mentioned in the Queen's articles for the plantation of the province. Hence the ominous name of *Undertaker*. Seven years were given to effect this desirable crusade of "civility" and reformation. The following is an abstract of these conditions† :—

"All forfeited lands were to be divided into manors and seignories, containing 12,000, 8,000, 6,000, and 4,000 acres each, according to a plot laid down. The undertakers to have an estate in fee farm, yielding for each seignior of 12,000 acres, for the first three years, £33 6s. 8d. sterl., viz. from 1590 to 1593, and from Mich. 1593, £66 13s. 4d. sterl., and rateably for every inferior seignior, yielding, upon the death of the undertaker, the best beast, as an heriot. To be discharged of all taxes whatsoever, except subsidies levied by parliament. Bogs, mountains, &c. not to be included, till improved, and then to pay ½d. for each English acre. Licence to the undertakers to transport all commodities, duty free, into England, for five years. That none be admitted to have more than 12,000 acres. *No English planter to be permitted to convey to any meer Irish.* Every owner of 6,000 acres to impark 600 for the breeding of horses, &c., and the other seignories, a rateable proportion. *The head of each plantation to be English,*

* There is an elaborate argument in the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica* on a subject not apparently requiring much logic, namely, that it would be highly beneficial to younger brothers to have a share in the confiscations. —*Des. Hib. Cur.* "

† Quoted in Smith's "History of Cork" from a manuscript in Liemore.

and the heirs females to marry none but of English birth; and none of the meer Irish to be maintained in any family there.

“ ‘ Each freeholder, from the year 1590, to furnish one horse, and horseman armed. Each principal undertaker for 12,000 acres, to supply three horsemen and six footmen, armed; and so rateably, for the other seigniories; and each copy-holder, one footman, armed. That for seven years to come, they shall not be obliged to travel out of Munster, upon any service; and after that time, no more than ten horsemen and twenty footmen, out of one seigniorie of 12,000 acres, and so rateably; and such as serve out of Munster, to be paid by the queen.

“ ‘ That the queen will protect and defend the said seigniories, at her own charge, for seven years to come. All commodities brought from England, for the use of the same seigniories, to be duty free, for seven years. The acres to contain 16 feet and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the perch, after the manner used in England. Dated 27th of June, 1566, 28 Eliz.’

“ ‘ The plot of the queen’s offer for the peopling of Munster:

“ ‘ For a seigniorie containing 12,000 acres the gentlemen were to have, for their own demesnes, 2,100 acres. Six farmers, 400 acres each. Six freeholders, 100 acres each; and lands to be appropriated for mean tenures (of 50, 25, 10 acres), 1,500 acres; whereon 36 families, at least, must be established. The other seigniories, of 8,000, 6,000, and 4,000 acres, were laid out in the same manner, in proportion. Each undertaker was to people his seigniorie in seven years.’ ”

These bountiful terms were construed with great liberality on behalf of some of the most deserving of the Queen’s servants in Ireland. Though 12,000 acres were fixed on as the largest undertaker’s portion, the Queen, remembering *his services* at Golden Fort, granted to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, 42,000 acres in Cork and Waterford. The letters patent to Raleigh are dated

16th October, 1586. The other grantees of note in Cork were, beside Sir Walter—

Sir Warham St. Leger,*	. . .	6,000 acres
Henry Cuffe, Esq.	. . .	6,000 „
Sir Thos. Norris,	. . .	6,000 „
Arthur Robbins,	. . .	18,000 „
Sir Arthur Hyde,	. . .	5,574 „
Fane Beecher, Esq.,	. . .	12,000 „
Hugh Worth, Esq.,	. . .	12,000 „
Thomas Say, Esq.,	. . .	5,775 „
Arthur Hyde, Esq.,	. . .	11,766 „
Edmund Spenser,	. . .	3,028 „
Sir Richard Bacon,	. . .	6,000 „

The grants in Limerick, Kerry, Tipperary, and Waterford were very great.

In Kilcoleman Castle, near Doneraile, in the County of Waterford, which had been one of the ruined residences of the Earl of Desmond, and which stood on the banks of a fine lake in the midst of a vast plain, terminated to the east by the Waterford Mountains, Spenser wrote a great deal of his *Faërie Queene*. "It must have been," says Smith, "(when the adjacent uplands were wooded) a most pleasant and romantic situation."† The same writer adds, that it is a pity "that some friendly stone, which might be placed at a small expense in the ruin of the Castle, does not point out its once immortal inhabitant." His *State of Ireland* is probably a sufficient memorial of the poet.

The date of Spenser's grant—"his exile to a

* Ancestor of the Viscounts Doneraile. He was killed near Cork, in a battle with Hugh Maguire, Chief of Fermanagh, 4th March, 1600.

† *History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 333.

region of barbarism," as the compilers of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" civilly say—~~was~~ 1586. In the great war of the Irish League, his house at Kilcoleman was attacked by the "rebels," and the poet escaped, leaving behind one of his infants, who was destroyed in the conflagration ensuing upon the attack. Worn down by the calamity, and ruined in circumstances, he died in an inn in King-street, Westminster, in 1598—9, and was buried near the grave of Chaucer (where he had always expressed a wish to lie), at the expense of the unfortunate Robert, Earl of Essex. Ben Jonson, in his conversations with Drummond, stated, "that the Irish, having robbed Spenser's goods, and burned his house, and a little child newly born, he and his wife escaped; and after, he died for lack of bread in King-street, and refused twenty pieces sent by my Lord of Essex, and said 'he was sorrie he had no time to spend them.'" One would pity the gentle poet, but that the calamity he met with originated in his own rapacity of disposition, for 'being dissatisfied with his large grant of 3,000 acres, he attempted to add to their amount by oppression and injustice to the poor people around, and it was vengeance, and not what they called "rebellion," which brought this great misfortune to his door. His "State of Ireland" was not published for thirty-five years after his death.*

The most striking feature in the conditions of this Plantation was, the exclusion of the owner of the soil from even the subordinate station

* *Encycloped. Brit.* vol. 20, p. 534, 7th ed.

country. No Irish were to be admitted* to land in that humble relation to the successful undertakers who usurped their lands—a provision of tyranny possibly the most impudent that ever was made. But it was disregarded; and historians of the school of Hume and Leland have a coolness to regret that the Plantation of Ulster was a failure, because Raleigh, Hatton, Morris, St. Leger, Bouchier, and others of note, who shared most largely in the enormous fruits of spoliation, did not respect the wise provisions “the plot of the Queen’s offer;” and because, Leland says, “leases and conveyances were made to many of the Irishry.”† In many instances the lands were abandoned to the old possessors; and where the undertakers entered upon their ignorances, they did not reside, but appointed idle, ignorant, corrupt, and oppressive agents. Neither did they comply with a still more necessary and wise condition of the “Queen’s plot,” namely, to make provisions for effectual defence. They were thriftless gamesters, these undertakers; they would enjoy as largely as they could the property of the people, but they were not honest enough to discharge the noble duties of proprietorship, nor wise enough to make due provision against the natural and just enmity of those whose plunder had enriched them. Should a signal example of their story!—the most brilliant of these honourable robbers, Edmund Spenser, died a broken-hearted beggar

The language of some modern English advertisements. It appears, is historical.

Leland, vol. ii., p. 302.

in London, the capital of that country who so splendidly enriched by his genius. availed him then his three thousand acres in ancient Desmond?

The Munster Plantation, then, may be said to have entirely failed in its objects. The subsequent war of 1641* very materially unset the condition of things which the contriver of the Plantation sought to establish—it neither naturalized in the south the Protestant religion nor planted there an English population. It failed to fulfil the humane view of its design. It did not extirpate and utterly destroy the native growth of the soil—the strong Celtic tree that bends to the blast but is not broken, withstood the mighty shock—and failing in this it still more signally failed to effect what was after all but the base and lying pretence of the English legislation of these days, the introduction of a new “civilization” amongst the *unenlightened* and *barbarous* natives.

We have now seen something of the systematic Plantations which preceded our immediate subject. But there were some other settlements of a different nature, of which, to make our view complete, it is proper to give a fuller notice.

* I am happy to say, that Mr. Chas. Duffy is charged with the duty, congenial to his patriotism and his feelings, and suited to his genius, of vindicating this great uprising from the fantastic calumnies of the fools of bigotry and the lies of history. The theme of a future volume of this library will be the “Rising of the North in 1641.”

The fine, fertile, and generous soil of Ulster, probably because it was nearest to Scotland, the prolific mother of *undertakers*, appears to have been the favourite ground of planting speculation.* There the maiden hands of Gerrard, Smith, and Devereux were tried, and there the sweet taste of confiscation was acquired and cultivated.

About the year 1584. a thousand Scottish Highlanders, called "Redshanks," of the septs and families of the Cambiles (probably Campbells), Macdonnells, and Magalanes, led by Surleboy, a Scottish chieftain, invaded Ulster. Other marauding parties of their nation had already possessed themselves of the lands of Irish chief-

* England, however, supplied her share in colonists, as we shall see:—"Early in James's reign a considerable colony had been brought from Devonshire by Sir Arthur Chichester, of which one part settled about Carrickfergus, and another in the district of Malone, adjoining to Belfast, where their descendants *are still to be distinguished by their looks and manners, but particularly by the air of comfort about their dwellings, and a fondness for gardens and orchards.* Near Belfast was likewise a colony from Lancashire and Cheshire, settled there, as it is said, by Sir Moyses Hill; but from Malone to Lisburn, and thence over the greater part of the barony of Massareene, and the southern part of the barony of Antrim, but especially towards the West, the country is mostly occupied by the descendants of English settlers, and some Welch, who came over in the reign of Elizabeth in great numbers, and also in the beginning of James I., with the different great families, that at various times obtained grants of land here."—*Dubouardieu's Stat. Survey of the County of Antrim*, pub. 1812, p. 443, quoted in *Historical Collections relative to Belfast*, pp. 9, 10.

tains in the Glinnas and the Route in Antrim.* It was at the beginning of the fifteenth century that the settlement of the Mac Donnells took place in Antrim. They were a younger branch of the Mac Donalds, who were "Kings and Lords of the Isles." One of them, Angus Oge, Lord of the Isles, married the daughter of O'Cahane, the chief of the O'Cahanes of Arachty. The marriage portion this distinguished lady brought her husband consisted of a number of "handsome young men," whose posterity are yet in the Isles (1789), and are known by the peculiarity of their names to belong to that race.†

John of Isle, the second son of John, Lord of the Western Isles, or the 'Æbrides, was established at the Glynnas, in Argyleshire; his descendants settled in the north of Ireland, one of whom was Alexander, who got a gold sword and silver gilt spurs from the Earl of Sussex, in 1557, for his services in Scotland, and the monastery of Glenarm and its lands were given to him. His son was Sorlebuídh (commonly written Surleboy), whose son was the first Earl of Antrim. Sorlebuídh married Mary, daughter of Conn O'Neill.

These invaders in time intermarried with the Irish, and became the most formidable enemies of England in her designs of settlement. It was ostensibly to root out this Scottish colony that Elizabeth sent Essex to Ireland; but his failure only fixed them more firmly in their place, and

* These few facts are stated in a work entitled "The Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot," London, 1626. See also "Reid's History," vol. i., p. 70.

† Lodge's Peerage, by Archdall, vol. 7, p. xli.

In 1603 James confirmed Sir Ronald Mac Donnell in the principality of the Route.

But a more singular settlement than this of the Scotch Redshanks was one effected by private speculation, namely, that of the Montgomerys in the Ardes of Down. The Montgomerys were a fertile and cunning race, but they came with clearer hands and a fairer title into our country than any of the Scotch or English speculators who have elbowed the people out of their lands since the English arrival. A pleasant, gossiping narrative is "the Montgomery Manuscripts,"* professing, as it does, to be "An Account of the Colonization of the Ardes in the County of Down, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James," and being, in fact, a collection of biography, illustrating the rise and progress of the Montgomery family, and the successful speculations they made in Ulster, where, "foreseeing it to be the stage to act upon, it being unsettled, and many forfeited lands thereon altogether wasted, they concluded to push for fortunes."† From this work the facts connected with the fulfilment of these laudable expectations are derived.

The head of this new and important settlement in the Ardes, was Hugh Montgomery, the sixth Laird (Esquire,) of Braidstane in Scotland; his father had married the daughter of Montgomery,

* These Manuscripts, prepared by one of the family, which are collected into a book, and published in Belfast (at the *News-Letter* Office, 1830), originally appeared in the columns of that paper. They deserve republication in an attainable form.

† *Mont. Manuscripts*, p. 20.

Laird Haishead, an ancient family descended of the Earls of Eglintown. The first laird of the name Robert Montgomery, was second son of Alexander Montgomery Earl of Eglintown. Hugh, the leader of the Montgomeries into Ireland, was thus a well descended adventurer, and in addition to his good birth, he possessed spirit and talent. The circumstances which led to his settlement in Down are these: In 1603, an affray took place in Belfast, between a party of soldiers and some servants of Conn O'Neill,* who had been sent with runlets to bring wine from that town to their master, "then in a great debauch at Castlereagh with his brothers, friends, and followers." The servants came back with more blood than wine, having got into a melée with some soldiers, who captured the runlets and sent home the messengers with a severe handling. They confessed to Conn that they were more numerous than the soldiers, on which, "in rage he swore by his father and by all his noble ancestors' souls, that none of them should ever serve him or his family, if they went not back forthwith and did not revenge the affront done to him and themselves by those few *Baddagh Sassenach*." The result was a violent affray, and some of the soldiers were killed. An office of inquest was held upon Conn and his followers, and a number of them

* "A drunken sluggish man, but he had a sharp nimble woman to his wife." Manuscript quoted by Reid, vol. 1, p. 86. This lady, it appears, was the person who made Conn's bargain with Montgomery, and under the circumstances it was a good one, "for saving his life with a part of his estate was better than to lose all

found guilty of levying war on the Queen. He was sent to prison to Carrickfergus, and, in the mean time, dying, the Laird of Montgomery who knew these matters well, with speed which became his country, made his applications to the new Scotch Monarch for Conn's estates, leaving the remainder to himself. But this modest proposal was not adopted, and he hit upon a happier expedient, was to obtain a grant from Conn O'Neill of half his lands,* on the condition of his escape and giving him a shelter. The escape was effected, and Conn went to Scotland where he was received by the Laird of Braidstane, joyfully and courteously. The contract was here consummated, and the deed executed; the original agreements were read and registered in the town council book of the Royal Burgh of Air or Irwine, and the indenture to Montgomery was burned in the house of Rosemount, (the residence of the Earl or author of the Montgomery Manuscript) in 1695. The Laird and Conn went to Ulster, and the former using his interest obtained Conn's pardon. The latter was gra-

territory was very extensive, consisting of the parishes of Breda, Knock, Kirkdonnell, Holly-Donaghdee, Gray Abbey, St. Andrews, and a part of the parish of Drum. The remains of Conn's tower were to be seen (1817) on the summit of a hill in the east, commanding an extensive prospect of the sea and surrounding country. A rivulet, by the name of Conn's water, between Belfast and Dundonald, is probably called from this Chieftain.—*Historical Memoirs of Belfast*, p. 7.

ciously received at Court—as others of the name were received there before—and orders given under the privy signet for letters patent of the great seal of Ireland, confirming his Majesty's pleasure in the matter of the grant to Hugh Montgomery, under condition, (and this is the most remarkable, characteristic, and significant part of these letters patent,) *that the lands should be planted with British Protestants, and that no grant of fee farm should be made to any person of mere Irish extraction.** Some change was subsequently made in these letters, by the intervention of a courtier of the name of Sir James Fullerton,† one of “the busiest bodies in all the world in other men's matters which may profit themselves,” who, having an eye for a friend, Mr. James Hamilton, and anxious to obtain for him a share of Conn's lands, represented in a courtier's way, that the two moieties granted were too large for two men, forgetting or omitting the small circumstance that they were their own by right, and prevailed on the King to make a fresh division. “But the

* Montgomery Manuscripts, p. 29.

† Mr. M'Gee states, that Fullerton and Hamilton were engaged in educational pursuits, and that they taught James Ussher, the great Archbishop. Hamilton had a Fellowship in the University; but he relinquished the Muses, and took to more profitable pursuits in the Ardes of Down.—*M'Gee's Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 46. After James's accession, Fullerton was knighted, and Hamilton was created Lord Clancuboy. The date of his peerage is 1622. Whilst engaged ostensibly in teaching, they were in fact acting as agents to secure the Stuart succession.

King sending first for Sir Hugh, told him (respecting the reasons aforesaid) for what loss he might receive in not getting the full half of Conn's estate, by that defalcation, he would compensate him out of the Abbey lands and impropriations, which in a few months he was to grant in fee, they being already granted in lease for twenty-one years, and that he would also abstract, out of Conn's half, the whole great Ardes for his and Mr. James Hamilton's behoof, and throw it into their two shares; that the sea coasts might be possessed by Scottish men, who would be traders proper for his Majesty's future advantage, the residue to be laid off about Castlereagh (which Conn had desired) *being too great a favour for such an Irishman.*" Hamilton was sent for to Court, and in some time after knighted, as Hugh Montgomery had been before; Sir James Fullerton, the useful go-between, who "more loved ready money, and to live in court than in the wilderness in Ulster," got gold in his purse; and Sir Hugh Montgomery, Sir James Hamilton, and Conn O'Neill executed tripartite indentures to the effect of the King's pleasure as above intimated; but by a cunning arrangement of Hamilton, the King's patent was passed only to him, and he was declared trustee for Conn O'Neill and Sir Hugh Montgomery. Though Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton were created knights at the same time, it was the pleasure of the King that Montgomery should take the precedence, *being an inheritor under James and his vassal in Scotland.* Besides James saw that Hamilton "through the efficiency of wit and

friendship"—his scholarship had done him a service—had made a better bargain than Montgomery had, and had obtained the better share of the dividend though he came later into the field. For he had managed in the patent to engross many more church lands than Montgomery, "and," says an old chronicler, "he was so wise as to take, on easy terms, endless leases of much more of Conn's third part, and from *other despairing Irishes* than Sir Hugh had done." These Knights having received their well-gotten booty, were entitled Lord Montgomery of Ardes, and Lord Hamilton of Claneboy. Verily these "noble families" seem to be made up of the very heart's blood and sustenance of these poor "despairing Irishes."

Conn's welcome on his return home with his pardon, though not immediately referring to the subject of this book, is too graphic and characteristic of the manners of the day, to be omitted:—

"Conn then returned home in triumph over his enemies (who thought to have had his life and estate,) and was met by his friends, tenants, and followers, the most of them on foot, the better sort had gerrans, some had pannels for saddles, (we call them back bughams) and the greater part of the riders without them; and but very few spurs in the troop, yet instead thereof they might have thorn prickles in their brogue heels (as is usual), and perhaps not one of the concourse had a hat; but the gentry (for sure) had on their done wosle bar-rads, the rest might have sorry scull caps, otherwise (in reverence and of necessity) went cheerfully pacing or trotting bare-headed. Conn being so come in state (in *Dublin equipage*) to Castlereagh, where no doubt his *vassals* (tagg-ragg and bob-tail) gave to their *Telme*

More, Squire Conn, all the honour and homage they could bestow, presenting him with store of beeves, col-paghs, sheep, hens, bonny blabber, rusan butter (such as it was); as for cheese I heard nothing of it, (which to this day is very seldom made by the Irish), and there was some greddan meal strowans, with snush and bolcan, as much as they could get to regale him; where I will leave him and them to congratulate each other's interview, till other occasions to write of him offer themselves."^a

Conn O'Neill, as might be expected, was not long left his thirds. For on the 14th March, 1606, specifying certain considerations, he executed to Sir Hugh Montgomery a feoffment of *all his lands*, and also a deed of sale of the timber growing on four of his townlands. The latter deed bore date 22nd of August, 1606.

And now the Montgomery Plantation began in right earnest. Montgomery found that the land he had succeeded in becoming proprietor of was without inhabitants. The "despairing Irishes," for the most part, were gone, for good reasons that they had; the soil had been reaped with fire and sword, and was desolate; head rents must be paid to the King, and there were no tenants to pay them. The parishes were more wasted, says the Montgomery Manuscript, than America when the Spaniards landed there (the comparison is apt); and to repair these evils, the Undertakers, "having got a good bargain for themselves," made some of their friends and retainers sharers under them as freeholders and

^a *This reception I fear, is but an invention of the playful author. He was a Montgomery; and they who win may laugh.*

labourers. There came several farmers under Montgomery, "gentlemen from Scotland,"* of the names of Shaws, Calderwoods, Boyds, and Keiths. Many Hamiltons followed Sir James, "all of them worthy men, especially his own brothers;" and other farmers, as the Maxwells, Rosses, Barclays, Moores, Bayleys, and others, whose posterity hold there to this day.† By the Montgomeries some foundations were made for towns, as Newtown, Donaghadee, Comber, Old and New Grey Abbey; and Hamilton also founded towns and incorporations, as Bangor, Hollywood, Kilileagh (with a strong castle), and Ballywalter. When these things were done, and a fair promise thereby given that the new settlements would have their towns and marts of trade, the Scots came there willingly and numerous, and became tenants and subtenants to

* There appears in all the Plantations to have existed a much greater readiness in the Scotch than in the English to participate in the toils and troubles of settling. "The English (says the Stuart Manuscript) being a great deal more tenderly bred at home in England, and having better quarters than they could find in Ireland, were unwilling to flock thither. Besides, the marshiness and fogginess of the island was found unwholesome to English bodies, more tenderly bred and in better air." But the Scotch, who could not be worse off any where than at home, with its inclement clime and reluctant soil, flocked in numbers to the more genial air and willing land of the parent country. It was at the time thought fortunate that the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland were not more populous, for there would not have been room enough, even with a few more rebellions and more confiscations, for all that could have been spared to Ireland.

† Reid, vol. i., p. 89.

their countrymen, and the land, *though not with its own children*, came to be peopled again.* Amongst those who accompanied Montgomery, were Patrick Shaw, Laird of Kelseland; Mr. Thomas Nevin, brother to the Laird of Monck-Roddin; and Mr. Cunningham, gentlemen, (who appear to have been what in Ireland we now call Montgomery's "wise men"); Patrick Moore, of Dugh; Neill, and Catherwood, to all of whom he granted lands in fee farm, in the parish of Donaghadee. Others came, too, on whom he bestowed tenements in freehold, and parks by lease; they built stone houses, and they traded to France, Flanders, and Norway.†

* The account I have given of this Plantation is that given by Stewart, which I think is preferable either to that of Lodge, in his "Peerage of Ireland," or to the "Montgomery Manuscripts." The latter, though very valuable, are a family biography, and have all its attractions and its faults—circumstantiality, gossip, self-adulation, and minuteness.

† Montg. MSS., p. 48. The North enjoyed an export of manufactures and a foreign trade long before this plantation. Her serges were exported to Italy, and had a high reputation.—*Stuart's Armagh*, p. 145. In the Dittamondi of Fazzio Delli Uberti, a Florentine poet, (1357), we have the following testimony:—

" Similimente passamo en Irlanda
La qual fra noi e degna di fama
Per le nobile saie che ci manda."

Thus translated—"So did we pass into Ireland, favourably known at Florence for the serge, worthy of all commendation, which she sends to us." This is a valuable testimony to the great antiquity of our exporting enterprise.

The first arrival of a new population like this, coming to occupy the land from which its natural owners had been expelled by violence, or out of which they had been purchased with money, will always present features of peculiar interest. In this case the settlers found a desolate and uninhabited peninsula, in the whole of which there were not thirty cabins, nor any stone walls; the marks of war and sacrilege met their eyes—here and there were seen ruined and roofless churches, the overturned monuments of ancient piety and the violated fanes of ancient peace. There were a few vaults at Grey Abbey, and a “stump of an old castle” in Newtown, in each of which some “gentlemen from Scotland” sheltered themselves at their first coming there. But they improved their circumstances shortly; they made cottages and booths; for the sods, and the saplings of ashes, alders, and birch trees,* with the rushes for the thatch, and the bushes

* The Montgomery Manuscripts remark, that the original planters found a soil not at all encumbered with large woods to be felled and grubbed. But Ireland had undergone a great revolution in the department of the Woods and Forests. “There was so much wood in Ireland in the earliest ages, that one of the names which it had from foreigners was, the ‘Island of Woods;’ given to it, say the old historians, by one whom Ninu, the son of Bel, sent to discover it. Indeed, by all the writings and monuments of ancient time, whether there is any truth in the old Irish saying or not—‘that it was thrice under the plow-share, thrice it was wood, and thrice it was bare’—it appears that as long as the land was in possession of the native Irish, it was full of woods on every side. Thus it

for the wattles, were near at hand ; and they constructed, as it were, a palace for the great chief of the movement out of the remains of the old castle ; in which the first Montgomery that ever settled himself in the land of O'Neill enjoyed for the time his well-earned repose. This was Sir Hugh's chief residence ; it was six miles from Belfast, and was thence supplied with all the requisites of life. During the summer time, two or three times in the week, intercourse was frequent between Scotland and Newtown ; but the communications between that

digging out the earth for a new canal from Loughneagh to Dublin, for an inland navigation, a forest, as it may be called, was discovered under ground : a vast number of fallen trees of ash, oak, alder, &c., lying near a mile in length under a covering of earth, in some places six, in others eight foot deep, many of them of large bulk tumbled down one over another, some lying in straight lines, and others in a transverse or oblique position. Many discoveries of this kind are continually made all over the island ; and there is scarce a bog but what affords plenty of timber buried in it, cut down, no doubt, by some of the first inhabitants, in order to make room for tillage and pasture : but in a long course of time they have been covered over by a stagnation of waters, which the trees themselves, being thus felled and disposed of, might have first occasioned, and by the high lands being dissolved with repeated rains, and, together with the earthy particles of rain water, lodging upon them. The names of many forests thus reduced are still preserved ; and they were in the early times so numerous as to be a great incumbrance, as appears from many instances in the ancient history. But since the conquest, in order as well to furnish timber for their houses, and convert the land into more profit, as to deprive the rebels and robbers of their lurking holes and places of refuge, the greatest part of the

country and Donaghadee were more frequent, as it was but three hours' sail from Portpatrick.

In the summer months of 1607, Newtown had become quite a place of resort from Scotland. People arrived from Stranraer, a town there, took horses at the port of Donaghadee, came to see their friends at Newtown, with their wares and provisions—thus mingling business with friendship—sold their commodities, dined, and returned in the evening to Scotland. "Such," says my authority, "was their encouragement, from a ready market, with their kind desires to

woods have been reduced to arable and pasture ground, or turned into bogs. Indeed, they have been so much reduced, that the inhabitants in general not only want wood for firing, but to carry on the business of building and repairing houses."—*Warner's History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 46.

The destruction of the timber of Ireland went on very rapidly. Originally, as we have seen, the island was called "woody," the people near Cork were called *Vodie*, signifying dwellers in a woody country, and the name of Youghal is said to have a similar meaning. Spenser and others commemorate Ireland as abounding in shade and foliage; and Stanihurst (quoted by Moore, vol. i., p. 45) says the natives were accused of savagely living in the depths of their mighty forests; yet, in less than a century after Spenser wrote, and when the Munster and Ulster wars and plantations had effected a great "clearing," we find Piers, in his *Description of Meath*, complaining of the want of forest trees, "wherewith Ireland was anciently well stored."—See Moore, *ubi sup.* Cambrensis, in his time, complaineth that Ireland had excess of woods and very little champaign country "but now the English Pale is too naked; turf and sea-coal is their most fuel."—*Campion's Historie of Ireland*, chap. 3.

see and supply their friends and kindred; which friendly commerce quite took away the evil report of wolves* and woodkerns which "envyers of planters' industry" had raised, to disturb this bees' nest of thriving Scotchmen.

The Planters were active and stirring; and if we give credit to their historian, they had an example of industry in their Lord and Lady, they both being active and intent on their work, "as birds after pairing to make nests for their brood." Accordingly, one might see streets and tenements growing up by the rare power of industry, and houses springing as it were out of the ground, "like Cadmus' colony."

But whilst the grosser sort were working for the mere material necessities of the new Plantation, their pious leader—"for indeed our forefathers were more pious than ourselves," as well they might—had made preparations for the performance of divine worship. When "the stump of the old castle," which appears to have been

* "King Edgar is said to be the first who attempted to rid this kingdom of such disagreeable inmates, by commutating the punishment for certain crimes into the acceptance of a number of wolf's tongues from each criminal. However, some centuries after, these animals were again increased to such a degree, as to become the object of royal attention; accordingly, Edward the First issued out his mandate to one Peter Corbet to superintend and assist in the destruction of them. They are said to have infested Ireland long after they were extirpated in England; however, the oldest men in that country remember nothing of these animals; and it is probable that there have been none there for more than a century past. Scotland also is totally free."—Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, vol. ii., p. 210.

the first consideration, was repaired (in the spring of 1606), so that there might be shelter for that year's summer and harvest, and for Sir Hugh and his servants, *then* his piety made some good store of provisions in those fair seasons towards roofing and fitting the chancel of the church for the worship of God; but his virtue was not without good calculation, for "*therein he needed not withdraw his own planters from working for themselves, because there were Irish Gibeonets and Garrons enough in his woods (alas! these poor despairing Irishes!) to hew and draw timber for the sanctuary.*" Before winter it was decently serviceable; and Sir Hugh had brought a supply of three chaplains over with him. In summer, 1608, some of the walls of an old priory were roofed in for the lady and children and servants (which were many) to live in. It was a strange hospitality which the houses of an old faith thus tendered to the Planters of a new race and a new religion.

Lady Montgomery, who would seem to have well deserved the eulogium bestowed upon the wife of Conn O'Neill, of being "a sharp, nimble woman," caused watermills to be built in all the parishes of her husband's principality, of which she stood in need in working about her gardens, carriages, &c. The arrival of "a commodity" of Scotch millers freed the colonists from the necessity of grinding their corn with the old and simple but troublesome machinery of the quairn *stones*, an inconvenience they were forced to *undergo at their first coming*.

Her ladyship had farms at Grey Abbey and at Comber, as well as at Newtown, both to supply her own domestic circle and the new importations of Montgomerys who were daily coming over; nor did she find any difficulty in getting a supply of labourers. For,—and as a means of testing the station and condition of some of those who first planted English civility and the Gospel among us, the fact is worth observation—many came over who had not the means to *plant* and take leases of land, but whose available capital was “a cow or two, or a few sheep, for which she gave them grass and so much grain *per annum*, and a house and garden plot to live on, and some land for flax and potatoes, as they agreed on, for doing their work, and there be at this day (1698—1704) many such poor labourers amongst us; and this was but a part of her good management, for she set up and encouraged linen and woollen manufactory.”*

Nothing can surpass the agreeable picture given of the settlement in the Ardes. Every body—a thing which is equally rare in old and new settlements—minded his own business at the plough and the spade, and building, and the nursing up orchards, and the planting of fruit trees, and the making of ditches. The old wives spun, whilst the garrulous murmur of their tales mingled with the industrious noises of the spinning wheel; young girls plied their nimble fingers and nimbler tongues, and every one was innocently busy. “Now the Golden peaceable

* Montgom. MSS. p. 53.

age was renewed: no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish or Irish feuds, between clans and families, and surnames, disturbing the tranquillity of those times; and the towns and temples were erected, with other great works done (even in troublesome years.)”

This was the mere planting of the seed. The seed time passed, and the harvest came. Cadmus had well planted his teeth, for we are told that in a few years from the beginning of the Plantation, Lord Montgomery brought before the Muster-Master of the King, one thousand fighting men; and by letters patent Newtown was created a Corporation, whereof the Lord Hugh is named Provost, and the Right Worshipful the Burgesses are also named. And so was consummated the Plantation in the Ardes of Down;* and so was the first stone laid of the greatness of the Montgomerys and the Hamiltons in the land of the O’Neills!

* “This corporation hath divers priviledges, the most remarkable are that every Parliament they send two Burgesses to serve therein; the other is that it can hold a Court every second Friday for debt, trespass, and damage, not exceeding three score six shillings and eight pence, sterling. The town hath in it an excellent piece of freestone work of eight squares, called the cross, with a door behind; within are stairs mounting to the towers, over which is a high stone pillar, and proclamations are made thereon; on the floor whereof at each square is an antique spout which vented claret, King Charles the 2d being proclaimed our King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. A^o. D^o. 1649.”

CHAPTER IV.

Plans for the great Plantation—Bacon's plan—Projects and observations upon them.

WE have dwelt at length on the Plantation in the Ardes of Down; for though not necessarily belonging to our immediate subject it possesses many features of engaging interest and belonging equally to that more extensive settlement which planted in the great domains of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and Mac Guire, and O'Dogherty, and O'Reilly, a new people, a new Faith, new habits, laws, institutions, traditions, a new history, and a new and more potent Aristocracy.

There was no character which James coveted more than that of planter and legislator of countries, and no passion of his was greater than that which he had for introducing "civility," and the English laws and customs into Ireland. Nothing could have been more fortunate for this object than the rebellions and sham rebellions which disturbed the earlier part of his reign. The materials for experimentalizing were presented to his hands abundantly in the six northern counties of Ulster—Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh—"a tract of country," *we are told by Leland, "covered with woods, where robbers and rebels found a secure shelter, desolated by war and famine, and destined to be*

waste without the deliberate and vigorous interposition of the English government."

James determined to dispose of these lands to his British and Scotch subjects, to the exclusion of the original Irish owners. For the absence of integrity and national honour in such a proceeding, there was, in the opinion of the King and his courtiers, an ample compensation in the purposes of peace and cultivation to which he intended to apply the vast bulk of forfeited property, which had come to his hands. That his opinions and determination on this subject were of long standing, we may assume from the fact that Lord Bacon's first suggestions for the planting of Ireland bear date long before the flight of the Earls of Tyrowen and Tyrconnell. Indeed it is impossible to resist the belief that from the beginning of this reign, Cecil and the other courtiers, surrounded by hungry vultures, having hordes of useless retainers, with a deficient public revenue, and anxious, it may be admitted, to establish permanent peace in Ireland where the most enormous expenses had been incurred in a long continuance of war, had planned the sham plot, the flight, and the forfeiture, at once to get rid of the enemies of England, to provide for their hungry applicants, and to garrison Ireland for the English crown.

In Bacon's voluminous correspondence, we find a letter addressed to Mr. Secretary Cecil, after the defeat of the Spanish forces in Ireland. Bacon and Cecil!—it is a strange neighbouring of names in the management of Irish affairs! *This letter must have been written just as the*

great war of Hugh O'Neill was closing and the Spaniards, under the imbecile Don Juan D'Aguila, had been defeated in the South of Ireland.* This letter had been despatched, O'Neill had capitulated, had been received into favour, had visited London, and thence returned loaded with the smiles of a Court and the coronet of an Earl; yet it seems as if this production were but the indication of a foregone conclusion, the programme of a play that was to be played out, and as if the reconciliation with O'Neill were not intended to be of long duration.

Bacon's plan contained elements which had they been admitted into the Plantation it would have worked if not more absolute good, at least with less injustice to the natives of Ireland. He recommended toleration in religious matters. He argued philosophically that two things should precede compulsion, one was instruction and the other operation, "neither of which they yet had." Besides, he says, "until they be more like reasonable men than they yet are, their society were rather scandalous to the true religion than otherwise—as pearls cast before swine; for, till they be cleansed from their blood, incontinency, and theft which are now not the lapses of particular

* "Life of Hugh O'Neill," p. 213. A.D. 1603. Bacon says of this southern campaign: "What was the event? This in a few words: that after the Irish and Spanish forces had come on, and showed themselves in some bravery, they were content to give the English the honour as to charge them first: and when it came to the charge *there appeared no other difference between the valour of the Irish rebels and Spaniards, but that the one ran way before they were charged, and the other straight er.*"—*Considerations of a War with Spain.*

persons but the very law of the nation, they are incompatible with religion reformed. For policy, there is no doubt but to wrestle with them now is directly opposite to their reclaiming.* Whilst he recommends the fair distribution of justice amongst the people, he argues that a temporary application of martial law is politic and necessary. But his strangest suggestion, though not the least wise for his purposes, is "to translate large families from Ireland into England, and give them recompence and satisfaction here for their possessions there, as the King of Spain did by divers families of Portugal." Further, he recommends two things which he considers very important; namely, that choice be made of such persons for the government of towns and places, and such undertakers be procured as be men gracious and well beloved, and likely to be well followed. And that it be not left to the pleasure of the undertakers and adventurers, where and how to build and plant, but that they do it according to a precept or formulary. For, first, the places both maritime and inland which are fittest for colonies or garrisons, as well for doubt of the foreigner, as for keeping the country in bridle, will be found, surveyed, and resolved on; and then that the patentees be tied to build in those places only, and to fortify as shall be thought convenient. And lastly, "it followeth of course in countries of new populations to invite and provoke inhabitants by ample liberties and charters."

* *Bacon's Letters* (temp. Eliz.) lviii.

It cannot be denied that, putting out of consideration the original wrong of this great transaction, Lord Bacon's early suggestions—made in anticipation of the spoliation that afterwards occurred—contained much forethought and wisdom, and indicate a very different mode of procedure from that of Cecil and Chichester.

Four years after this letter had been written the opportunity occurred which was so much coveted by the king, and for which his courtiers and dependants had struggled so long. O'Neill and O'Donnell were gone, never to return—O'Dogherty was subdued, and the six great counties of the North lay at the mercy of James. Bacon now addressed his master in a very able and elaborate essay, which he entitled "Certain considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland."* He sums up the several advantages incidental to a properly managed Plantation, and in the first place he dwells complacently on the prospects opened to his majesty for getting rid of the superabundant population of England and Scotland, and for providing ample "sustentation

Bacon excuses himself thus, though no apology appears to have been necessary, for giving his opinions at the King: "And I was the rather invited this to by the remembrance, that when Lord Chief Justice I am served in the place wherein I now serve, and afterwards in the attorney's place, he laboured greatly on the last project touching the Plantation of Munster, and, nevertheless, as it seemeth, hath given more light on the errors thereof what to avoid, than by the direction *the same* what to follow."—*Lord Bacon's Works*, p. 471. Bohn, 1843.

for numerous families, whose discharge also out of these countries may prevent the seeds of future perturbations. It is as if a man were troubled for the avoidance of water from the place where he hath built his house, and afterwards should advise with himself to cast those waters, and to turn them into fair pools or streams for pleasure, provision, or use. So shall your majesty in this work have a double commodity in the avoidance of people here, and in making use of them there."

Other advantages he sets forth of defence against the foreign enemy, and of a great increase of strength and profit to the Crown by working "on the unpolished part thereof." And he concludes the summary of benefits by a glowing picture of the prize proposed to British and Scotch speculation. "For this island being another Britain, as Britain was said to be another world, is endowed with so many douries of Nature, considering the fruitfulness of the soil, the ports, the rivers, the fishings, the quarries, the woods, and other materials; and especially the race and generation of men, valiant, hard, and active, as it is not easy, no, not upon a continent, to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of man did but join the hand of Nature."

The reader may, with great advantage, compare the suggestions of Bacon for carrying out this Plantation with the projects proposed by the council to the king, and the "Orders and Conditions" which James published.

Three motives, Bacon says, induce men to un-

undertake new settlements : pleasure, honour, and profit.* Without dwelling much on the two first, he proposes to make the new undertaking attractive to the planters by three means : 1st. To set the land at easy rates to their new owners. 2dly. To give them a perfect liberty of export of all commodities growing upon the planted country—liberty to import, custom free, all things appertaining to the necessary uses—liberty to take timber or other materials in the King's woods, and the like. 3dly. To exonerate the planters from bearing the whole mass of charge out of their private purses.

He recommends a Commission of Plantation, and that the Commissioners should for certain times reside and abide in some habitable town of Ireland, as well to decide all controversies, as to form centres round which tradesmen and a concourse of people might flock, as it will be some help and commodity to the undertakers for things they shall stand in need of. And he adds a suggestion which proves him to have well understood the principles of centralization, which are so

* With regard to the pleasures of an Irish residence, he says : " In this region or tract of soil there are no warm winters, nor orange trees, nor strange beasts, nor birds, or other points of curiosity or pleasure, as there are in the Indies, or the like ; so as there can be found no foundation made upon matter of pleasure, otherwise than the very general desire of novelty and experiment in some stirring natures may work somewhat." Spenser *had more flattering opinions of Ireland.—Faërie Queene, passim.* And this sentence contrasts strangely with that quoted in the text.

much interwoven with the modern system of colonization :*

“ The next is, that your Majesty would make a correspondency between the commission there, and a Council of Plantation here : wherein I warrant myself by the precedent of the like council of plantation for Virginia ; an enterprise, in my opinion, differing as much from this, as Amadis de Gaul differs from Cæsar’s Commentaries. But when I speak of a council of plantation, I mean some persons chosen by way of reference, upon whom the labour may rest, to prepare and report things to the council of estate here, that concern that business. For although your Majesty have a grave and sufficient council in Ireland : from whom, and upon whom, the commissioners are to have assistance and dependence ; yet that supplies not the purpose whereof I speak. For, considering, that upon the advertisements, as well of the commissioners as of the council of Ireland itself, there will be many occasions to crave directions from your Majesty and your privy council here, which are busied with a world of affairs ; it cannot but give greater expedition, and some better perfection unto such directions and resolutions, if the matters may be considered of aforehand, by such as may have a continual care of the cause. *And it will be likewise a comfort and satisfaction to some principal undertakers, if they may be admitted of that council.*”

The same principle of centralization he applies to the building of dwellings on the intended plantation. His opinion was in favour of towns and not of isolated residences, and he gives many sufficient reasons for it, which, however, had little effect in influencing the undertakers.

“ My reasons,” he says, “ are, First, when men come into a country vast, and void of all things necessary for

* See Introductory Essay to his works, p. xix.

the use of man's life, if they set up together in a place, one of them will the better supply the wants of the other: workfolks of all sorts will be the more continually on work without loss of time; when, if work fail in one place, they may have it fast by; the ways will be made more passable for carriages to these seats or towns, than they can be to a number of dispersed solitary places; and infinite other helps and easements, scarcely to be comprehended in cogitation, will ensue in vicinity and society of people; whereas if they build scattered, as is projected, every man must have a cornucopia in himself for all things he must use; which cannot but breed much difficulty, and no less waste.

"Secondly, it will draw out of the inhabited country of Ireland provisions and victuals, and many necessities; because they shall be sure of utterance: whereas in the dispersed habitations, every man must reckon only upon that that he brings with him, as they do in provisions of ships.

"Thirdly, the charge of bawnes, as they call them, to be made about every castle or house, may be spared, when the inhabitants shall be congregated only into towns.

"And lastly, it will be a means to secure the country against future perils, in case of any revolt and defection: for by a slight fortification of no great charge, the danger of any attempts of Kernes and Sword-men may be prevented: the omission of which point in the last Plantation of Munster, made the work of years to be but the spoil of days. And if any man think it will draw people too far off from the grounds they are to labour, it is to be understood, that the number of the towns be increased accordingly; and likewise, the situation of them be as in the centre, in respect of the portions assigned to them: for in the champaign countries of England, where the habitation useth to be in towns, and not dispersed, it is no new thing to go two miles off to plough part of their grounds; and two miles compass will take up a good deal of country."

I have recapitulated the leading opinions of Lord Bacon on the subject of the Plantation

because they are the opinions of a great governing mind upon a subject of vast historical importance—of a statesman to whom is usually awarded the merit of designing this enormous confiscation;* but principally that they may be contrasted with the scheme of Plantation which was subsequently carried into effect.

It is plain that the mind of England was bent on the new conquest, by colonization, of the whole of Ireland. The attempts which had been partially made served only to whet the appetite of acquisition, and from the grander speculations of Bacon down to those of the meanest undertaker in Scotland, the several passions of men were turned with different ends to the peopling of this country; and the rapidity with which the King proceeded in this his cherished scheme, corresponded with the anxious avidity of his hungry favourites, and the wants of that tribe of mendicant courtiers who infested his mean and pompous court.

The Earls had not long fled until, as we have seen, commissions were sent to the North, of judges to try and hang the traitors, and of others to investigate the extent and amount of for-

* He shares this merit with Cecil, but the latter performed the vulgar part of the affair. He got up the plot with a view to the confiscation; but Bacon laid a comprehensive, and, contrasted with the execution, a humane plan of colonization. The basis of both was *acquisition*, but there are degrees in robbery as in every thing else.—See *Concise View of the Irish Society*, p. 3, where Robert Cecil obtains the whole merit of suggesting the project.

tures which had accrued to the Crown by the providential discovery of the dropped letter. Several of those whom Leland, with gross assurance, calls "conspirators,"—whilst in his own eyes he admits the improbability of the existence of any "conspiracy"—were taken, tried, and hanged; and the two Earls and other fugitives of inferior note were attainted by the usual process of outlawry, according to the course of the common law, which was so new and unfamiliar in the principalities of Tyrowen and Tyrconnell. This hot haste received a startling check from the young chief of Inishowen; but, after some months of vigorous "rebellion," his untimely death allowed the King and his undertakers to proceed with their long meditated designs upon the estates of Ulster, and they lost not a little time and spared no toil in this labour of love.

The six counties which were marked out as the prey of the undertakers, "as a new corner of the vineyard" for the Wingfields, and Caulfields, and Chichesters, and Blayneys,* exceeded in length and breadth the large counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire. No part of Ireland was more rich in natural fertility and cultivation, and though the barbarian hand of English rapine had been busy with its teeming fields, it yet bore to the "hungry vultures" that awaited a partition, the abundant promise of untold wealth. To gratify the inordinate desires of his servants, James proceeded with rapidity and judg-

* Mitchel's "Hugh O'Neill," p. 242.

ment. No better choice could have been made of agents, for the work of plunder, than the King's Attorney General, and the Lord Deputy Chichester. Sir John Davies was a subtle, pliant lawyer, eloquent and learned, without conscience, the professional apologist of robbery. He was a man of spirit and courage, and as we shall presently see, carried himself boldly in the parliamentary contest, which took place a little later between him and Sir John Everard, for the speakership of the House of Commons. But in the plans and projects, and execution of the Plantation of Ulster, he did no more than the lawyer's part; he vindicated every act of wrong, and was ready with a reason for every iniquity. In the whole range of law literature there is not a more wonderful instance of unprincipled reasoning than that by which he reconciles "the conscience of the King" to the ejection of the native Irish from their lands. He was a useful counsellor to such a sovereign as James. But the true mastermind of the confiscation was Sir Arthur Chichester.

This Deputy was son of Sir John Chichester of Raleigh, in the county of Devon; his mother was a descendant of Bouchier Earl of Bath.* His ancestral line was long and noble. But he was from his earliest days an adventurer. He left the University, preferring action to study, and betook himself to arms. He served with distinction—the distinction of superior courage and

* *One of this family got large grants out of the Deaton confiscation.*

superior cruelty—in the Irish armies of Elizabeth; and was knighted for his actions in Ireland, “where his services in the reduction of the Irish were so manifest, that he was effectually assistant to plough and break up that barbarous nation by conquest, and then to sow it with seeds of civility.”* In 1603, he was made a Privy Counsellor and Governor of Carrickfergus, and in 1604 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland.†

He was a rigid Puritan, and had signalized himself by the bitterness with which he persecuted the Roman Catholics. His zeal was so furious, that even the King and Council were compelled at times to moderate it. But it was “in sowing the seeds of civilitie,” that is to say, in plundering the natives of their property, that he was most signally efficient. He was “resolute

* “Lodge’s Peerage” by Archdall, quoting Fuller; vol. 1, p. 318. He laid waste the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus with fire and sword (1599), and was for his brilliant services recommended to the congenial spirit of Cecil as the fittest man to be made sole Governor of Ulster to carry on “a sharp winter’s war against the rebels.”

† His brother, Sir John, was also Governor of Carrickfergus, but not exactly so profitably for himself. For hearing that James Mac Sorley Mac Donnell was growing restive, he marched out against him. Their forces engaged, and Sir John was taken prisoner, and his head was cut off on a stone near the Glynnies. Next year Mac Donnell was taken into favour, and seeing the effigy of Sir John in Nicholas’s Church in Carrickfergus, asked—“How the De’il he cam to get his head again, for, he was sure he had ones taken it from him?”—*M. Skimmins’s Carrickfergus*, p. 37.

in executing his designs, *wise in taking his party*, master of his own temper, dexterous and able to manage the variety of humours he met with." And all these qualities were subservient to insatiable avarice, for he was, beyond all men of the day, greedy of gain and eager for forfeitures. And therefore to him fell the lion's share of the Plantation, over whose details and management his acute and sagacious genius presided.* This was the man whom James selected as his agent; and it was a good choice.

The King was well aware of the rock upon which the Munster Plantation split, and "he had," says Leland, "a just conception of his present scheme." He showed this by his choice of Sir Arthur Chichester. The advantages of Sir Arthur were these: that his Irish experiences were great; he was skilled in all the mysteries of hanging, drawing, and quartering; he had served and butchered in the Irish wars; there was no traitor whom he did not know; and no Chief whose character he had not studied. He understood the territories to be planted—for his eyes were long turned with longing to the Peninsula of Inishowen, and the broad principalities of O'Neill; he had surveyed the doomed counties, and described particularly the state of each. The statistics of the escheated estates were familiar to him as his prayers, (though he prayed much); and he could point out with the accuracy of an engineer, the fit places for the making of Castles and

* *The list of the rewards of "faithful Chichester" will be given hereafter. They would nearly fill a volume by themselves.*

lawns, and other fortified haunts of robbers; nor could the most accomplished master of the secrets of the human character more accurately delineate than he did, the failings and passions of the Irish chieftains, the temper of the old natives, and the way in which to deal with both.* This founder of the family of Donegal was in his way a rare man—a Pizarro or a Cortes it might have been, if he had had a new world to discover.

It is to Sir Arthur Chichester then that we may attribute the excellent projects of the Plantation of Ulster, which, improving much on the philosophic theories of Bacon, admirably fulfilled, we may presume, the more practical designs of Cecil and his master. When we reflect upon what Chichester did, and what he gained, we shall have little doubt about the real and intimate motive, which influenced James and his counsellors in the Plantation of Ulster. But, indeed, little doubt appears to be entertained on any side in these days on such a transaction;† it stands confessed, an act of lawless spoliation without

* Leland, vol. 2, p. 430. It is to be regretted, that all Chichester's letters and despatches to England are not forthcoming. They would have formed admirable materials for history. Leland attributes to Chichester the qualifications enumerated above; "but he had one disqualification overlooked here by Leland, which is a fatal objection to every one of the above pretensions, namely, he was interested as one of the *planters* himself." *Liber Munerum publicorum Hiberniæ*, under the head of *Res gestæ Anglorum in Hibernia*, by Mr. Lascelles of the Inner Temple, chapter 47, p. 47, an excellent English history of Ireland.

† Hume in a burst of rhapsodical rapture exclaims, "Such were the arts by which James introduced his

plea or excuse ; and is now spoken of merely as a warning to Peoples against those divisions which make them the prey of the strong hand, and to Kings and Governments against the lust of conquest, and the iniquity of lawless aggression.— This great crime will not have been an unmixed mischief, if it teach People and Kings the evil and folly of their ways.

Before the projects of the Privy Council, and “the Orders and Conditions” of the King are laid before the reader, we may consider for a moment the nature of the country and the character of the people who were thus to be rudely trampled upon. And James himself is the safest witness that can be called to testify to the natural wealth and fertility of the soil he was about to plant. In seeking to persuade the “incomparable city of London” to undertake a Northern Plantation, he presented them with the following “Reasons and Motives :”—

“The Land Commodities which the North of Ireland produceth.

“The country is well watered, generally by abundance of springs, brooks and rivers ; and plenty of fuel, either by means of wood, or, where that is wanting, of good and wholesome turf.

manity and justice, amongst a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares ! much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquests ; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention, to perfect what had been so happily begun.”—*Hume's History of England*, vol. 6, p. 59, Edinburgh Edition of 1805. The conclusion of this pompous eulogy is rather lame.

“It yieldeth store of all necessary for man’s sustenance, in such measure as may not only maintain itself, but also furnish the city of London, yearly, with manifold provision, especially for their fleets; namely, with beef, pork, fish, rye, bere, peas, and beans, which will also, in some years, help the dearth of the city and country about, and the storehouses appointed for the relief of the poor.

“As it is fit for all sorts of husbandry, so for breeding of mares and increase of cattle it doth excel, whence may be expected plenty of butter, cheese, hides, and tallow.

“English sheep will breed abundantly in Ireland, the sea coast, and the nature of the soil, being very wholesome for them; and, if need were, wool might be had cheaply and plentifully out of the west parts of Scotland.

“It is held to be good in many places for madder, hops, and woad.

“It affordeth fells of all sorts, in great quantity, red deer, foxes, sheep, lamb, rabbits, martins, squirrels, &c.

“Hemp and flax do more naturally grow there than elsewhere; which being well regarded, might give great provision for canvass, cable, cording, and such like requisite for shipping, besides thread, linen cloth, and all stuffs made of linen yarn, which is more fine and plentiful there than in all the rest of the kingdom.

“Materials for building—timber, stone of all sorts, limestone, slate, and shingle—are afforded in most parts of the country; and the soil is good for brick and tile.

“Materials for building of ships, excepting tar, are there to be had in great plenty; and in the country adjoining the goodliest and largest timber in the woods of Glanconkene and Killetrough that may be, and may compare with any in his Majesty’s dominions, which may easily be brought to the sea by Lough Neagh, and the river of the Bann. The fir masts, of all sorts, may be had out of Lochabar in Scotland, not far distant from the North of Ireland, much more easily than from Norway; other sorts of wood do afford many services, for pipe staves, hogshead staves, barrel staves, hoop staves, clap-board staves, wainscot, soap and dyeing ashes, glass and iron work, for iron and copper ore are there plentifully had.

“The country is very plentiful for honey and wax.

“The Sea and River Commodities.

“First. The harbour of the river of Derry is exceeding good; and the road of Portrush and Lough Swilly, not far distant from the Derry, tolerable.

“The sea fishing of that coast very plentiful of all manner of usual sea fish, especially herrings and eels; there being yearly, after Michaelmas, for taking of herrings, above seven or eight score sail of his Majesty’s subjects and strangers for lading, besides an infinite number of boats for fishing and killing.

“Great and profitable fishing are in the next adjacent isles of Scotland, where many Hollanders do fish all the summer season; and do

ntifully vend their fish in Spain, and within Straits.

* Much train or fish oil, of seal, herrings, &c., y be made upon that coast.

“As the sea yieldeth very great plenty and riety of the sea fish, so doth the coast affordundance of all manner of sea fowl, and the vers greater store of fresh fish than any of the vers in England.

“There be also some store of good pearls upon is coast; especially within the river of Lough oyle.

“The coasts be ready for traffic with England d Scotland, and for supply of provision from to them; and do lie open and convenient for pain and the Straits, and fittest and nearest for ewfoundland.”*

It is not surprising that, as we shall find prently, such excellent reasons and motives had eight with the mercers, drapers, goldsmiths, and painter-stainers of the good city of London.

This country so blest by nature in her mostountiful mood, was possessed by a brave, warke, and religious people.† They were “frank, norous, ireful, sufferable of paines infinite, very orious, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, eat alms-givers, passing in hospitalitie.”‡ Other

* “Concise View of the Irish Society,” page 6.

† See “Campion’s Historie,” cap. 3, for a learned dis-
ussion on the soil and climate of Ireland; and Spen-
r’s “View of Ireland,” p. 28.

‡ *Campion’s “Historie of Ireland,”* A.D. 1571. He
s, “the lewder sort both clerks and laymen are sch-
and over loose in living, but being virtuouslie bred

testimonies are at hand to much the same effect. "The Irish were a people peaceable, harmless, and affable to strangers, and to all pious and good, whilst they retained the religion of their forefathers."* These are the qualities generally attributed to the old natives of Ireland, and which, perhaps, were in none more marked than in the clans of O'Neill and O'Donnell. Brave,† gay, adventurous, hospitable, religious, the Irish possessed those elements of popular character, which when allowed a fair development, conduce to national power, wealth, and happiness. But the circumstances of their country, the arrival of the Anglo-Norman adventurers, the long struggles for political existence, and then for religious freedom effectually counteracted the results naturally to be expected from the happy dispositions

up or reformed are such mirrors of holiness and austeritie, that other nations retain but a shadow of devotion in comparing with them."

* This is quoted in O'Connell's "Memoir," from Borlase, p. 14; I have not found out any such passage in Borlase, nor do I understand the meaning of the qualification touching religious fidelity. See also Spenser's "State of Ireland," p. 116.

† "In battle they measured the valour of the combatants, by their contempt of artificial assistance; and when they beheld the English knights covered with iron, hesitated not to pronounce them void of real courage. Their own arms were a short lance, or two javelins, a sword called a *skean* about 15 inches long, and an axe of steel called a *sparthe*. The latter proved a most formidable weapon. It was wielded with one hand, but with such address and impetuosity as generally to penetrate through the best tempered armour. To bear it was the destruction of freemen."—Lingard's Hist., vol. 2, p. 249.

f the people, and the abundant productiveness of the soil.

If we were to judge by the modern historians,* the Irish people at the accession of James, nay some have said from the earliest periods, were buried in the most profound barbarism,† even though from the fifth century they had enjoyed the light of Christianity, and though the priests and missionaries of the country had preserved, through mediæval gloom, both faith and learning, and propagated them through the world. In the tenth century, ere the history of England had well begun, and when the greatest part of Europe was involved in darkness, a steady light of piety and learning continued to shine in this island, and shed its rays over the neighbouring countries.‡

* I say the modern historians, for the old historians, Champion, Hanmer, &c., though perhaps more prejudiced were less ignorant than the late writers. They tell more truth, though they sometimes say bitterer things. On all Irish matters Hume is undoubtedly the most ignorant English historian.

† Hume's History, vol. 6, p. 59.

‡ “‘The Monks,’ saith Mr. O'Connor, ‘fixed their abitations in deserts, which they cultivated with their own hands, and rendered the most delightful spots in the kingdom. These deserts became well policed cities; and it is remarkable enough that to the Monks we owe so useful an institution in Ireland, as bringing great numbers together into one civil community. In these cities the Monks set up schools, in which they educated the youth not only of the island but the neighbouring nations.’ The testimony of Bede is unquestionable, that about the middle of the seventh century, in the days of the venerable prelates Finian and Colman, many nobles and other orders of the Anglo-Saxons, retired from their own country into Ireland, either for instruction,

In the schools of the continent, the Irish scholars continued "to retain their former superiority, and amongst the dwarf intellects of that time, towered as giants."* In France and Germany, the monasteries of the Irish, the only retirements for piety and learning in an ungodly age, were flourishing, and the fame of Irish scholars was joyfully recognized. Irish monks founded a school at Glastonbury in England, where St.

or for an opportunity of living in monasteries of stricter discipline: and that the Scots (as he styles the Irish) maintained them, taught them, and furnished them with books without fee or reward. 'A most honourable testimony,' saith the elegant Lord Lyttleton, 'not only to the learning, but likewise to the hospitality and bounty of that nation!' A conflux of foreigners to a retired island, at a time when Europe was in ignorance and confusion, gave peculiar lustre to this seat of learning; nor is it improbable or surprising, that seven thousand students studied at Armagh, agreeably to the accounts of Irish writers, though the seminary of Armagh was but one of those numerous colleges erected in Ireland. But the labours of the Irish clergy were not confined to their own country. Their missionaries were sent to the continent. They converted heathens, they confirmed believers, they erected convents, they established schools of learning; they taught the use of letters to the Saxons and Normans, they converted the Picts by the preaching of Columb-kill, one of their renowned ecclesiastics: Burgundy, Germany, and other countries received their instructions: and Europe with gratitude confessed the superior knowledge, the piety, the zeal, the purity of the Island of Saints. Such are the events on which Irish writers dwell with an enthusiastic delight."—*Leland's Preliminary Discourse*, p. xx. See Lingard, vol. 2, p. 245. *Milner's Enquiry into Vulgar Errors*, p. 9; *King's Church History of Ireland*, 2d edit. p. 139.

* See the excellently written chapter in Moore's *History*, vol. 2, p. 130.

Dunstan imbibed under their teaching "the very narrow of scriptural learning."* There that distinguished ornament of the English Church was learnedly accomplished, according to the acquisitions of the time, in astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry; and there too he cultivated that sweet taste for music, in which he indulged through all his life.†

And so did piety and learning continue to flourish in Ireland, until by the constant intercourse, both peaceable and warlike, with the Danes, and by their employment as mercenaries of those barbarians in local feuds, the Irish had become familiar with rapine and all turbulent crimes, and a national degeneracy had been thereby produced, which continued increasing up to the time of the English invasion. Then it may, without disparagement to our country, be admitted that the Irish were matched against a people possessing at that time superior civilization, greater refinement, and a more compact and better system of government. A nation governed by innumerable Princes and Chiefs, was to meet in battle and to struggle with in policy, a country having but one centre of power, one head, one recognized source of government. It is no shame that with such unequal odds they were worsted in the long con-

* Moore's Hist. vol. 2, p. 133; William of Malmsbury, Life of St. Dunstan.

† Moore says, on the authority of William of Malmsbury, that it was the frequent habit of this great man *when fatigued with business, and in his hours of rest, uando a literis vacaret, to fly for refreshment to the soothing sounds of his harp.* Vol. 2, p. 134.

test of ages, and it is a matter of national pride that so noble and unceasing a resistance could have been made, with such discordant materials.

But much as Ireland had degenerated since the English invasion, she still enjoyed at the accession of James a great degree of civilization, when compared with other countries at the same period. Under the rule of her native chieftains, religion had been protected, and the country was covered with the noblest architectural monuments of princely piety, of many of which, subsequently, she was stripped by the sacrilegious fury of the English.* Laws had been propounded with solemn sanctions, laws repugnant to later notions and to the refinement of modern ages, but suited to the wants, the genius, and the feelings of the people. Amongst the chieftains had been, and still were men of high accomplishment, courtesy and valour. The Scotie chronicle of Fordun supplies us with a letter written in the reign of Edward III., by O'Neill, King of Ulster, and, as he proudly says, "rightful heir to the monarchy of all Ireland," and addressed to the Pope John XXII., and a more impressive and eloquent document will scarcely be found in the pages of history, indicating a degree of high and refined feeling, that could not be surpassed, if it could be equalled, in the Court of Edward. It is a history of English rule in Ireland from the beginning, told with grave and earnest simplicity, but in language the most eloquent and graceful. There

* *Letter of Donald O'Neill to Pope John XXII. ; See post.*

is little evidence in it of that perennial barbarism, which Hume attributes to the chiefs and people of ancient Ireland.*

The deterioration which took place has been attributed to many causes; to the Danish invasions,† to the Brehon laws‡—yet in days of acknowledged splendour and civilization, these Brehon laws formed the national code—but however that degeneracy was produced, it was signally accelerated by the arrival of the Anglo Normans. They came like “ravening wolves and more cunning than foxes;”§ they drove the inhabitants from their houses and their lands, “to seek shelter like wild beasts in the woods, marshes, and caves; they sought out the miserable natives even in those dreary abodes;”|| they seized on the noble endowments of the church, and destroyed the buildings devoted to piety and education. O’Neill pathetically laments that by the intercourse of the Irish with the English, his countrymen had lost the fine features of the national character, “for, instead of being like our ancestors, simple and candid, we have become as artful and designing as themselves.”

Moryson in writing the time of Elizabeth says, that an Irish chieftain sat round the fire with his family in a state of nakedness. But not to dwell upon the requisitions of a climate not tropical, this will appear a mere gratuitous misrepresentation, when we consider that sumptuary laws to prevent extravagance in dress were very frequent

* *This admirable state paper is given in the Appendix No. 4, and it is well worthy of careful perusal.*

† Moore, vol. 2, p. 143.

‡ Hume, vol. 6, p. 59

§ Milner’s “Enquiry;” O’Neill’s Letter.

|| *Ib*

from an early period in Ireland, and that even English writers have minutely described the gorgeous garments of the chiefs and clansmen—the ornamented vest, the trowse, the flowing mantle, the vast sleeves of finest linen dyed in saffron--and that the ornaments of the women were of gold, and are duly recorded in bardic rhyme and soberer annals. A people so well supplied with, and so fond of using a costly wardrobe, would scarcely be reduced to a barbarous nakedness even in the recesses of their dwellings.*

It must be confessed, however, that the residences of the Irish, contrasting strangely with the splendour of their ecclesiastical architecture, were in most instances mean and temporary, and suited only for a loose pastoral people. They were slight, and composed of hurdles.†

* O'Donnell, who submitted in 1542, was dressed in the following fashion: "For I think him furnisht of other apparrail better than any Irishman, for at such time as he mette with me he was in a coat of crimoisin velvett with aiglettes of gold, twenty or thirty pair, over that a great doble cloke of right crimoisin satin, garded with black velvet, a bonnet with a feather set full of aiglettes of gold, that methought it strange to see him in so honorable an apparrail, and all the rest of his nacion that I have seen as yet, so vile."—*State Papers in the time of Henry VIII. Lord Deputy St. Leger's Letter to Henry*. It is not easy to believe that he would drop these costly garments, to sit amongst his family in nature's own material.

† Dr. Lingard says, that at the time of the invasion "the seaports, inhabited chiefly by the descendants of Ostmen, were places of some trade. Dublin is styled the rival of London, and the wines of Languedoc were imported in exchange for hides. But the majority of the natives shunned the towns, and lived in huts in the country. They preferred pasturage to agriculture. Restraint and labour were deemed by them the worst of evils; liberty and indolence the most desirable."

But this is not to be taken to support the charges of barbarism made against the nation, which are completely belied by the course of education in the management of cattle, in husbandry, in navigation, and in letters, which were administered to their youth;* the early commercial dealings with foreign nations,† and the long possession of letters. But the social habits in almost every country of Europe were of a low nature, and their standard of social comfort was mean. Great contrasts—noble castles, splendid edifices

blessings. The children owed little to the care of their parents, but, shaped by the hand of Nature, they acquired as they grew up elegant forms, which, ended by their lofty stature and florid complexion, excited the admiration of the invaders. Their clothing was scanty, fashioned after a manner which to the eye of Giraldus appeared barbarous, and spun from the wool of their sheep, sometimes dyed, but generally in its natural state."—*History of England*, vol. ii., p. 249. This must be taken with many allowances. The historian afterwards says, "They constructed their houses of timber and wickerwork, with an ingenuity which extorted the admiration of the English. Their churches were generally built of the same materials; and when Archbishop Malachy began to erect one of stone, the very attempt excited an insurrection of the people, who reproached him with abandoning the customs of his country, and introducing those of Gaul." In Mr. Petrie's learned and elegant essay, he clearly proves that the use of stone and cement in churches, and occasionally in houses, was nearly cotemporary with the introduction of Christianity; his clear and forcible reasoning will convince the most incredulous.—See *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, comprising an "Essay on the Origin and Uses of Round Towers of Ireland," vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 127, *et seq.*

* *Leland's Preliminary Discourse*, p. xxxviii.

† *Stuart's Armagh*, 145; *Lingard*, *ubi sup.*

of piety, looking down upon mean structures of hurdles—were not unusual in England at the time of the first Anglo-Norman monarchs.

Hume sums up the character of the Anglo-Saxon race—and doubtless they were at the time of Henry II. not much ameliorated by the Norman invasion—in this manner:—"They were in general a rude, uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in the mechanic arts, untamed to submission under law and government, addicted to intemperance, riot, and disorder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was not supported by discipline or conduct. Their want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their later period. Even the Norman historians, *notwithstanding the low state of the arts in their own country*, speak of them as barbarians when they speak of the invasion made upon them by the Duke of Normandy. The conquest put the people in the way of receiving slowly from abroad the rudiments of science and cultivation, and of correcting their rough and licentious manners."* The Normans brought with them their habits and their tastes, and some refinement, which was, as Hume says, slowly imparted to the Saxons; and the composite nation, when its

* Hume's History, vol. i., chap. 3. The Anglo-Saxons had their *eric* for murder and wounds, their *gavelkind*, and a practice which still obtains, of paying *the husband* the value of the wife in cases of adultery.—*Ib.* Dr. Lingard even more graphically describes them, vol. i., p. 61.

adventurers first invaded the shores of Ireland, had achieved a certain degree of civilization. Settled there, however, they made no exertion to extend this to the natives; they acted merely as needy adventurers, seeking to make easy fortunes, and reckless of the ruin they wrought in the pursuit of wealth and power.

In every other recorded case, the disasters of conquest have been followed by social amelioration to the conquered people.* But the Anglo-Norman invasion was an unrelieved and unatoned-for calamity to the Irish people; the conquest up to the reign of James never having been completed, the policy of division, and the practices of petty and incessant warfare, were adopted from the first. Whatever superior civilization was enjoyed by the invader was never imparted to the invaded people; he gave nothing but his vices to his new country. Entrenched within the stunted boundaries of the Pale, his only security was in the weakness of the "enemy;" and this was effectually secured by the divisions which the institutions of *Ta isiriy* and Chieftainship enabled him to create amongst their numerous kings and princes. The social amelioration of the Irish nation was never

* I do not insist upon the point of honour, that Ireland was never conquered. In Elizabeth's reign she was conquered both in war and policy; and from the beginning she was practically conquered, for a foreign enemy possessed her capital city, exacted a revenue, and by playing chief against chief, family against family, and sept against sept, reaped some of the most signal advantages of conquest.

thought of by the English adventurers: the country was looked upon merely as so many estates, and the people as so many enemies. The legislation of the conqueror, the most remarkably cruel, ignorant, and selfish of any of which there is a remaining record, was carefully framed to obstruct the improvement of the nation. Statutes were passed to prevent intermarriages, and all those other social connections which the humanity of Irish customs taught,* and which would have gradually led to a perfect union of the two nations. Laws were made preventing the exercise of any of the arts and pursuits of peace.† It was impossible for the Irish either to improve their own institutions, or, assuming them to be superior, to adopt those of the Anglo-Normans.‡ Their expulsion and extermination continued to be for centuries the objects of Government, which it sought to effect by remorseless cruelty, and by a policy even more cruel and relentless. The wars of

* Fosterage, gossipred, &c.

† Irishmen could not enter English towns, nor trade with the inhabitants.

‡ The late Mathew O'Connor, in his "History of the Irish Catholics," thus irreverently speaks on this question:—"Had Henry fulfilled his engagement (to extend the English laws, as he promised at the Council of Lismore), no revolution could have been more happy. Factionous practices and unsocial manners would have yielded to the restraints of regular government, and the *Brehon barbarism* to civil jurisprudence."—p. 3. Agreeing with him in other particulars, I must remark, *that nothing* in the accounts of ancient Ireland warrants *the imputation* of unsociality. The reverse is always *insisted on*.

the Pale—the Statute of Kilkenny—the Plantations of Munster and Ulster, were the varying applications of that settled policy. The resistance of the Irish was noble and continuous, but it was without plan, without unity, without any principle of concert, and it finally yielded to the military and political genius of Lord Mountjoy. The submission of Hugh and Roderick removed the last obstacle to English dominion; and if the English did not succeed in the total annihilation of the natives, it was not that they had changed their policy, but that it had become impossible. The Plantation of James was a blow aimed exactly at this object as the campaigns of Carew and Grey.

The surveys being made of the escheated territories, inquisitions were held concerning the forfeitures. The commissioners authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission, (July and August, 1609,) "to enquire of divers things concerned in the said commission, and articles of instruction thereunto annexed," were—Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy; Henry, Lord Archbishop of Armagh; George, Lord Bishop of Ely; Sir Humphry Winch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Treasurer at War; Sir Oliver St. John, Master of the Ordinance; Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Garret Moore, Privy Councillors; Sir John Davies, Attorney-General; William Parsons, Esq., Surveyor-General. Twelve men* were duly sworn

The following are the names of the jurors who were empanelled in Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's case; viz.: Henry Reynolds, Jessy Smith, Richard Griffin, Hum-

and found on the several inquisitions that Hugh, sometime Earl of Tyrowen, and Roderick, sometime Earl of Tyrconnell, and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty and others, "did enter into rebellion, and at the time of the said entering into rebellion were seized in their demense as of fee, of, &c." and the six counties of Ulster were duly enumerated by their several baronies, parishes, and townlands, and the number of acres and baliboes (or balibetaghs,) polla, quarters, and tathes, were set out with becoming accuracy.

Quick upon the finding of these inquisitions, which handed over to the King the ancient and princely inheritance of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, and the countries of the O'Cahans, the Maguires, the O'Doghertys and the O'Reillys, and a score of other ancient names—or it may be even before the formal finding—a project was submitted by the Irish Privy Council, to the King and Council in England for the division and plantation of the escheated lands in six several counties of Ulster, namely, Tyrowen, Coleraine,* Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan.

This project, though in many instances much modified and in others not at all followed, contains the principles on which the Plantation was conducted. It will be found in the ensuing Chapter.

phry Vaile, Richard Birnes, William Colesmore, Anthony Mathew, Richard Appleton, Andrew Dykes, Hugh Thompson, Edmund O'Hegarty, Manus Mac Rorty, Walter Jullan, and Donoghty O'Deny; all good men and true.

* *Coleraine* the ancient name of the county which now enjoys the composite appellation of Londonderry.

CHAPTER V

ject of Plantation submitted to the English Privy Council—Orders and Conditions to be observed by the undertakers—Commission to inquire into “the King’s title” to the escheated principalities—Orders and instructions to the Commissioners of division.

“HEREAS,” says a state paper of the day,* great scopes and extent of land in the several counties of Armagh, Tyrowen, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, within our province of Ulster are escheated and come to our hands by the attainder of sundry traitors and rebels, *by other just and lawful titles*,† we have heretofore caused several inquisitions to be taken and surveys to be made, which being transmitted and presented to us, we considered with our Privy Council, attending our person, how much might advance the welfare of that kingdom, if the said land were planted with colonies of civil and well affected in religion.” The civil and well affected in religion were to be English, and principally Scotch—the fulfilment of which conditions would

“Orders and Conditions for Commission for inquiry into escheated lands.”—*Harris’s Hibernica*, page 132.
James set up a whimsical hereditary title to the crown of Ireland.

lead to the extermination of the native races of Ireland.

For the information of the Privy Council attending the person of the royal Planter, the Irish Privy Council submitted their project.

They commenced by laying down four general points, to be observed in all the escheated counties, namely :—

I. That the proportion of land to be distributed to Undertakers may be of three different quantities. The first and least may consist of so many parcels of land as will make a thousand English acres, or thereabouts. The second or middle proportion of so many parcels as will make fifteen hundred English acres, or thereabouts. The third and greatest of so many parcels as will make two thousand English acres, or thereabouts.

II. That all lands escheated in every county may be divided into four parts ; whereof two parts may be divided into proportions consisting of a thousand acres a-piece, a third part into proportions of fifteen hundred acres, and the fourth part into proportions of two thousand acres.

III. That every proportion be made a parish, and a parish church be erected thereon ; and the incumbents be endowed with glebes of several quantities, viz. : an incumbent of a parish of a thousand acres to have sixty acres, of a parish of fifteen hundred acres to have ninety acres, and of a parish of two thousand acres to have one hundred and twenty acres ; and that the whole *tithes*, and the duties of every parish be allotted to every incumbent, besides the glebes aforesaid.

V. That the Undertakers of these lands be several sorts. First, English and Scottish, who to plant their proportions with English and Scottish tenants. Second, Servitors in Ireland, who may take English or Irish tenants at their price. Third, Natives of those counties, who to be freeholders.

Following these four general principles of distribution, were special directions for each county, based upon their relative statistics. But before giving these special directions, it will be well to consider those applicable to the whole scheme of Plantation.

In each county, the authors of this project divided the lands escheated into two divisions, one portion of the church, and the other the portion of the Undertakers. The first was composed of Tithes, Monastery, and Mensall or Demesne lands—the second of the escheated territories of “late traitors.”

Before the Synod of Kells, held under the presidency of Cardinal Paparo, in 1152,* tithes

Moore, vol. 2. p. 189. Mr. King in his “Church of Ireland,” 2nd edition, p. 227, asserts, that at the synod of Cashel, held in 1172, that tithes were first introduced. The synod of Kells was important because it was a formal recognition of the supremacy of Rome, which had always been acknowledged by the whole church of Ireland, a Legate and Cardinal present; and distributing palliums at their own earnest request to the four archbishops. But the decrees of the 11th Synod were very important. They consisted of *clauses*: 1, Against marriage by near relations; 2, Prohibiting the christening of infants at the church door; 3, Establishing or confirming the payment of tithes of annals, corn, and other produce to

were unknown in Ireland. They were introduced by a law promulgated in this synod, and Ireland owes to Rome the establishment of an impost so distasteful to her ; "than which human wisdom never yet discovered a more equitable and less burthensome provision for the clergy."* Before the introduction of tithes, the clergy were mainly supported by donations of cattle and other commodities from the people ; but they enjoyed other valuable sources of revenue. The chief of which consisted of lands settled on a church by its founder, before it was consecrated by the bishop, to whom then the endowment belonged. These were called Erenach or Termon lands. They enjoyed privileges of sanctuary ; and were stocked in ancient times by the founders with septs and races, bound to perform certain services for those to whom they were assigned.† They were let to tenants who were compelled to reside, and the proceeds were applied to maintain hospitality, to repair the churches, and to pay the rent reserved by the bishops. At the time of the Plantation, claims were made by the bishops and archbishops in the various counties for Termon lands, to the amount of 43,087 acres ; but on in-

the church ; 4, Church lands to be exempted from lay exactions, coyne, livery, coshering, &c. ; 5, Exempting the clergy from paying eric when they chanced to be relatives of a murderer. 6, Touching wills. 7, Relating to burials, and uniformity of worship.—*King's Church History*, p. 225.

* This institution almost reconciles Ledwich to the connexion of the Irish Church with Rome.

† *Stuart's "Armagh," App. p. 616.* The word *terminus* is derived from the Latin terminus.

quisition it was found that they had no title to the lands which were escheated, but only certain pensions issuing thereout.

In lieu, it was proposed in this project that these lands should be bestowed on the archbishoprics and bishoprics to maintain their state and dignity, and to be in place of their thirds of the tithes. A provision was made for the inferior clergy, by compelling the bishops to resign their impropriations and to relinquish to the incumbent the tithes of his parish. It was also proposed to grant to every parsonage a new endowment of certain lands for the glebe thereof, according to the third general point. Thus, in this comprehensive design the Church was provided for, getting somewhat more than her share, and much more than either her past services or perspective employments would have entitled her to.

Free schools were endowed in the principal towns, and it was proposed to give to the College of Dublin, out of the lands of O'Neill and his clans, more than a thousand acres, at half the rent to be paid by the Scottish and English Undertakers.

The remainder of the escheated property was to go in such shares as the "four general points" laid down to the Undertakers.

Provisions were made, which were not afterwards entirely fulfilled, for the building of several corporate towns in the different counties.—Lands were to be set aside for these towns, for *which they were to pay the same rent as the Undertakers.*

But there was one proscribed class—the wretched remnant of the old lords and clansmen of the soil—what, in this liberal distribution of their own, was to fall to their share? Here are the words of the Project:—

Touching the disposing of the natives, some may be planted upon the two thousand three hundred and twenty-three acres of land, and the glebes of the parsons; others upon the lands of Sir Arthur O'Neill's sons and Sir Henry Oge-O'Neill's sons, and of such other Irish as shall be thought fit to have any freeholds there. Some others may be placed upon the portions of such servitors as are not able to inhabit their lands with English or Scottish tenants, especially of such as know best *how to rule and order the Irish.*

Thus, though the materials for forming a judgment of the actual drama which was played are scanty, we can well imagine the incidents of this process of banishment and separation. It was resolved to improve upon former Plantations. In the past efforts to colonize, the Irish had either been mixed with the English, that thereby they might acquire their habits of civility and industry, or else they were driven to the woods, which, at the time, skirted the sides of their mountains and stretched along the banks of every river. The fertile plains were seized on by the English settlers. But this did not work well. The Irish, in the woods to which they had been driven, or on the mountain sides, or in the sacred gloom of their forests, peopled, we may suppose, with the old, but not forgotten *fancies of ancient superstition,** brooded over their

* Druidism.

wrongs, and planned a sure and fearful vengeance. They issued from their retreats, destroyed the settlements, burned the towns, waylaid the straggling parties, and covered the face of the country with fire and blood. The holds of Norman robbery were wrapped in flames; their flocks were driven from the open pastures to the mountain and the wood; their retainers were cut off in detail by the ever watchful natives; and often over the noises of their revelry were heard the avenging war-cries of the clansmen of Tyrconnell and Tyrowen.

"These fast places they kept unknown," says the veracious attorney-general of James, "by making the ways and entries thereto impassable, where they kept their creaghts or herds of cattle, living by the milk of the cow, without husbandry or tillage; there they increased and multiplied unto infinite numbers by promiscuous generation amongst themselves;* there they made their assemblies and companies without discovery; but they discovered the weakness of the

* This charge is totally false. It was first made by St. Bernard, whose judgment was warped by local misrepresentations, and who, in fact, knew little or nothing about Ireland. He said that the Irish did not contract marriage, and Gerald Barry repeats the assertion; and hence Davies and other interested calumniators have trumped up the charge of incest and fornication. But Bernard knew nothing of the peculiar Irish rites of marriage, and because they did not marry after the general fashion, he concluded, erroneously, that they *were not married at all*. Cambrensis was too glad to set *any* charge against Ireland, not to snap at this ready.—*Moore*, vol. 2, p. 171.

English dwelling in the open plains, and there upon made their sallies and retreats with great advantage. Whereas, on the other side, if the English had builded their castles and towns in those places of fastness, and had driven the Irish into the plains and open countries, where they might have had an eye and observation on them, the Irish had been early kept in order."

It was requisite to the success of the new Plantation, that such consequences as are described above, should be carefully guarded against. It would ill suit the grave yeoman, the thrifty trader, and the cautious burgher, who were to be transported from the fields and towns of Britain, to have such neighbours in the woods. Even the scattered remnant, the hapless survivors of the wars of the League, might re-construct their power in the gloomy security of the forest, and issuing from its depths to burn, kill, and plunder, would thus continue to be a source of ceaseless terror to the Undertakers. It was therefore prudently resolved to fix in the plains and open places the natives, whom the clemency of power still permitted to enjoy part in the distribution of the escheated lands. This was a wise resolution, whether it would eventually be politic to civilize, or necessary to slay them. They were assembled under the eyes and fortresses of the new population; and from his square built tower and his fortified bawn,* he who had despoiled might watch over and control them. Happy state of things,

* The courtyards surrounding the castles and houses of the Undertakers.

if only cupidity had been constant to execute as it had been wise to design ; if, from the fields of Ulster, the children of her soil had been mercilessly driven to the fastnesses and morasses of Connaught, and an ancient people had been, in pursuance of the first intention, swept from the face of the earth by the rushing tide of lawless immigration. But we shall see that the barbarous requisitions of this project of Plantation, either from the fears or necessities of the planters, were not adequately complied with. The Irish swordsmen, most probably because it might have been rash to provoke them to despair, were not driven into Connaught ; nor were the West-India isles as yet peopled with a banished nation.* The Irish tillers of the soil were admitted, but too liberally, to become tenants of the Scotch and English farmers, because they offered higher rents for lands, and accepted smaller wages for labour. The humane, and wise, and enlightened projects of the King and his counsellors were baffled by the want of co-operation on the part of the inferior agents of confiscation, and the completeness of the design was destroyed by "the dangerous intrusion of the old natives."†

The Project contains a statistic account of the different counties, not, however, accurately setting down the number of acres in each, but only enumerating the escheated lands *available to the purposes of the planters*, and excluding unfor-

* *Barbadoes* was a favourite place of wholesale banishment of Cromwell. "To have them safe at the *Barbadoes*" was a familiar form of speech of his.

† *Leland*, vol. 2, p. 437.

feited and church lands, and also excluding bogs, mountains, lakes, woods, and "other unprofitable scopes." The measurements of land varied in the North; in some counties they reckoned by Ballyboes or Ballibetags, a quantity containing sixty English acres, or thereabouts; in others by Quarters of varying value; in others by Tathes, containing thirty English acres, or thereabouts; and in others by Polls, containing four acres each. The calculations of the Privy Council's Project is as follows:—

Tyrowen contained of "available land," including the ecclesiastical possessions, 1,571 ballyboes, or 98,187 acres; Coleraine, otherwise O'Cahan's country, contained 547 ballyboes, or 34,187 acres, of which the Bishop of Derry claimed termon lands to the amount of 6,343 acres; Donegal contained 110,700 acres, of which 9,000 acres were claimed as termon lands; Fermanagh, commonly called M'Gwire's country, contained 1,070 tathes, or 33,437 acres, with forty-six islands; Cavan, O'Reilly's country, contained 620 polls, or 40,500 acres; and Armagh contained 77,800 acres, of which the Primate's share was to be 2,400 acres, and the incumbents' glebes were to enjoy 4,650 acres.

The corporate towns which this elaborate paper suggested, and which were to have markets and fairs, and other reasonable liberties, with power to send members to Parliament, were to have been built and endowed in the following places:—

In Tyrowen, at Dungannon, Clogher, Omagh, Loughensolin, and Mountjoy; in Coleraine, at Limevaddy and Dungiven; in Donegal, at Derry

Galbey, Donegal, and Ballyshannon ; in Fermanagh, at Lisgool, Castleskagh, and at another place midway between Lisgool and Ballyshannon ; in Cavan, at Cavan, Belturbet, and at a third place between Kells and Cavan, to be selected by the commissioners ;* and finally, in Armagh four corporate towns were to be built and endowed, Armagh, Mountnorris, Tanrygee in O'Hanlon's country, and Charlemont.

It has been a matter of dispute as to the extent to which the Dublin University can be considered a purely Protestant institution—with that question we are not now to deal—but it must be admitted that she derived much of her great and, in many senses, untold wealth, from the plundered estates of the Catholic chieftains and people of Ulster. In Tyrowen, the University was by this Project to have 813 acres ; in Coleraine it was to have 1,125 acres out of the Monastery lands ; in Armagh it was to have 1,200 acres ; in all over 3,000 acres. In addition to which it was to have six advowsons in every county, three

* The Commissioners for the purpose of partition of the escheated lands. The date of their commission was of the 7th of James the First, and it was "to inquire what castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, rents, services, customs, duties, fishings, advowsons, and other hereditaments whatever, situate, lying, and being in the several counties of Armagh, Coleraine, Tyrowen, Donegal, Fermanagh, or Cavan, or either of them, or in the confines of them or either of them are escheated and come, or ought to be escheated and come to our hands and possession, or to the hands and possession of any of our progenitors or predecessors, Kings and Queens of England," &c. It was a comprehensive commission, and addressed to fit agents.—See post.

of the best and three of the second value. Thus the spoils of the ancient Church, and the pillage of the Monasteries, went to enrich what is called a purely Protestant foundation, and whose enormous wealth is supposed to have sprung from the beneficent gifts of Protestant sovereigns.

The Project was greatly modified, and many of its *wisest* provisions disregarded, in the scramble for plunder which ensued upon the flight of the Earls and the extinction of the last spark of resistance by the death of O'Dogherty: so that we must look to the Orders and Conditions for the Planters, and the Instructions to the Commissioners, for a clearer view of the progress of confiscation.

The "Orders and Conditions for the Planters"* begin with the usual preamble of sham rebellions and conspiracies, but with very real attainds and forfeitures. On reviewing the surveys, his Majesty, "out of his princely bounty, not respecting his own profit, but the public peace and welfare of the kingdom by the civil plantation of those unreformed and waste countries, is graciously pleased to distribute the said lands to such of his subjects, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland, as being of merit and ability shall seek the same with a mind not only to benefit themselves, but to do service to the Crown and Commonwealth."†

The paper next sets forth (and in this enumeration of proportions of land and conditions of occu-

* Harris's "Hibernica," p. 123.

† The reader is referred to Mr. Lascelles's very appropriate remarks on the nature of preambles, ante.

portion, it in some degree differs from the Project)

1. The several quantities of the proportions to be distributed. 2. The several classes of undertakers. 3. The mode of allotment; and 4. The rents, services, and the tenures under which they were to hold, and which they were to render.

First, The proportions of land to be distributed to Undertakers shall be of three different quantities, consisting of sundry parcels or precincts of land, called by certain Irish names, used and known in the said several counties, *viz.*, Ballibetagh, Quarters, Balliboes, Tathes, and Polls; the first or least proportion to contain such or so many of the said parcels, as shall make up a thousand English acres at the least; and the second or middle proportion to contain such or so many of the parcels, as shall make up fifteen hundred English acres at the least; and the last or greatest proportion to contain such or so many of the said parcels, as shall make up two thousand English acres at the least; to every of which proportions shall be allowed such quantity of bog and wood, as the country shall conveniently afford.

Secondly, The persons of the Undertakers of the several proportions shall be of three sorts, *viz.*

1. English or Scottish, as well servitors as others, who are to plant their portions with English, or inland Scottish inhabitants.

2. Servitors in the kingdom of Ireland, who may take meer Irish, English, or inland Scottish tenants at their choice.

3. Natives of Ireland, who are to be made freeholders.

Thirdly, His Majesty will reserve unto himself the appointment in what county every Undertaker shall have his portion. But to avoid emulation and controversy, which would arise among them, if every man should choose his place where he would be planted; his Majesty's pleasure is, that the sites or places of their portions in every county shall be distributed by lot.*

* This system of lots was afterwards abandoned.—*See post.*

Lastly, The several articles ensuing are to be observed, as well on the behalf of his Majesty, as of the several Undertakers respectively.

Articles concerning the English and Scottish Undertakers, who are to plant their portions with English and inland Scottish Tenants.

1. His Majesty is pleased to grant estates in fee-farm to them and their heirs.

2. They shall yearly yield unto his Majesty for every proportion of a thousand acres, five pounds six shillings and eight pence English, and so ratably for the greater proportions, which is after the rate of six shillings and eight pence for every three score English acres. But none of the said Undertakers shall pay any rent, until the expiration of the first two years, except the natives of Ireland, who are not subject to the charge of transportation.

3. Every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the greatest proportion of two thousand acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by Knight Service *in capite*; and every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the middle proportion of fifteen hundred acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by Knight Service, as of the Castle of Dublin. And every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the least proportion of a thousand acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same in Common Soccage: and there shall be no wardship upon the two first discents of that land.*

* "Knight Service" was a military tenure, in other words, a tenure in chivalry, wherein the grantee and his heirs should either perform the service of a knight to the grantor and his heirs, or find some other person to perform it. The tenant, besides his military service, was subject to other incidental services. 1st. *Aids*, to rescue the lord from captivity, to make his son a knight, and to marry his daughter. 2nd. *Relief*, a sum paid to the lord by the heir to allow him to enter on his land when he had attained his majority. 3rd. *Primer seisin* year's profit of lands given to the Crown where the

4. Every Undertaker of the greatest proportion of two thousand acres shall, within two years after the date of his letters patents, build thereupon a Castle, with a strong court or bawn about it. And every Undertaker of the second or middle proportion of fifteen hundred

heir was of age when his ancestor died. 4th. *Wardship*, a right to plunder a minor, vested in the King, who might sell the privilege. 5th. *Marriage*, a right in the lord to get a wife or husband for his ward, if under age. 6th. *Fines upon alienation*. 7th. *Escheat* from extinction by death, or commission of treason or felony. The Act of 12th Charles II. c. 24, which gave the *coup de grace* to the feudal system, extinguished these monstrous rights, and converted all such tenures into *free and common soccage*.—*Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws*, vol. 2, p. 63; *Knight's Political Dictionary*, article *Knight Service*. The effects of this odious system, under which civilized England groaned from the Normans to the Roundheads, are well described by the judge, Blackstone, vol. 2, p. 76. The finesse and trickery of Norman lawyers were a sorer burthen to Englishmen than the mailed Barons and the loose adventurers with which the great Norman Plantation of England flooded the country.—*Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth*, book 3, chap. 3. One would think the writers upon English tenures might be a little more civil about our Tanistry, Gavelkind, Coyne and Livery, Cosherings and Sessings. James the First intended to change these tenures for an equivalent fee-farm rent. He did not do so; but they being “discontinued during the usurpation,” as a great many evil things were discontinued, Charles the Second did not presume to revive them. His Statute was the catastrophe of Feudalism.

Soccage was of two sorts, Free and Villein. In one the services are certain and honourable; in the other are certain, but of a baser kind. *Soccage* was a Saxon *relique of liberty*. The tenant returned for his land fealty and a certain rent. The services that were base are *ploughing, carrying out dung, making hedges, and other mean but very useful employments*.—*Blackstone's Com* vol. 2, p. 60, *et seq.*

acres shall, within the same time, build a stone or brick house thereupon, with a strong court or bawn about it. And every Undertaker of the least proportion of a thousand acres shall, within the same time, make thereupon a strong court or bawn at least. And all the said Undertakers shall draw their tenants to build houses for themselves and their families near the principal castle, house, or bawn, for their mutual defence or strength. And they shall have sufficient timber, by the assignation of such officers as the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland shall appoint, out of his Majesty's woods in that province, for the same buildings, without paying any thing for the same during the said two years: and to that end there shall be a present inhibition to restrain the falling or destruction of the said woods in the mean time, for what cause soever.

5. The said Undertakers, their heirs and assigns, shall have ready in their houses at all times a convenient store of arms, wherewith they may furnish a competent number of able men for their defence, which may be viewed and mustered every half year, according to the manner of England.

6. Every of the said Undertakers, English or Scottish, before the ensembling of his letters patents, shall take the Oath of Supremacy,* either in the Chancery of England or Ireland, or before the Commissioners to be appointed for establishing of the Plantation, and shall also conform themselves in religion according to his Majesty's laws.

7. The said Undertakers, their heirs and assigns, shall not alien or demise their portions, or any part thereof, to the *meer Irish*, or to such persons as will not take the oath, which the said Undertakers are bound to take by the former article. And to that end a proviso shall be inserted in their letters patents.

8. Every Undertaker shall, within two years after the date of his letters patents, plant or place a competent number of English or inland Scottish tenants upon his *portion*, in such manner as by the Commissioners to be

* The oath of supremacy, which directly controverts one of the principal doctrines of Catholicity, was prescribed by a statute of the second year of Elizabeth.

appointed for the establishing of this Plantation shall be prescribed.

9. Every of the said Undertakers, for the space of five years next after the date of his letters patents, shall be resident in person himself upon his portion, or place some such other person thereupon, as shall be allowed by the state of England or Ireland, who shall be likewise resident there during the said five years, unless by reason of sickness or other important cause he be licensed by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to absent himself for a time.

10. The said Undertakers shall not alien their portions during five years next after the date of their letters patents, but in this manner, *viz.*, one-third part in fee-farm, another third part for forty years or under, reserving to themselves the other third part without alienation, during the said five years. But after the said five years they shall be at liberty to alien to all persons, except the *meer Irish*, and such persons as will not take the oath, which the said Undertakers are to take as aforesaid.

11. The said Undertakers shall have power to erect manors, to hold Courts Baron twice every year, to create tenures to hold of themselves upon alienation of any part of their said portions, so as the same do not exceed the moiety thereof.

12. *The said Undertakers shall not demise any part of their lands at will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for life, in tail, or in fee-simple.*

13. No uncertain rent shall be reserved by the said Undertakers, but the same shall be expressly set down without reference to the custom of the country, and a proviso shall be inserted in their letters patents against Cuttings, Cosheries, and other Irish exactions upon their tenants.

14. The said Undertakers, their heirs and assigns, during the space of seven years next ensuing, shall have power to transport all commodities growing upon their own lands, which they shall hold by those letters patents, without paying any custom or imposition for the same.

15. *It shall be lawful for the said Undertakers, for the space of five years next ensuing, to send for, and bri*

into Ireland, out of Great Britain, victuals and utensils for their households, materials and tools for building, and husbandry, and cattle to stock and manure the lands aforesaid, without paying any custom for the same, which shall not extend to any commodities by way of merchandize.*

The most remarkable of these orders and conditions are those which are aimed at what the insolence of English pride has always termed "meer Irishry." The Irish are exceptions to the exemption from rent—on the ground that they were "in a fashion born to the soil" and had no journey to go to take possession. Undertakers, those strange usurpers, are forbidden to demise to the meer Irish, or to any tenant who will not take the Oath of Supremacy, which was a practical exclusion of the Catholics of Ulster, if these undertakers acted upon the injunction. The King's tenants are allowed to alien after five years' possession, but not to the "meer Irish."

There is, however, one evidence of true wisdom in these orders. The King's Council had a just appreciation of an evil, only second in magnitude to confiscation itself. The precautions against Absenteeism were admirably wise, and had the whole system been more generous and catholic, would have produced infinite advantage to the tenants and labourers. But this was another of the rocks on which James's great measure struck. The patentees lived in England, and left

** I have preferred to give these conditions in the text rather than in the Appendix, as I think the clear understanding of them most necessary to an accurate examination of the Plantation.*

their estates and their dependants to the management of agents who were ignorant and indolent, and who, careless of the success of the Plantation—namely, the total eradication of the Irishmen—countenanced “the dangerous intrusion of the natives.”

The servitors, persons who had served his Majesty in war or in an official capacity in Ireland, and to whom was extended the privilege of inhabiting their portions with meer Irish tenants, were to have an estate in fee farm, paying to the King a yearly rent of eight pounds for every proportion of a thousand acres which they should stock with *meer natives*, but only five pounds, six shillings and eight pence for every thousand acres on which they should place English or Scotch tenants. They were to enjoy the same tenures and perform the same conditions as the undertakers—to eschew just as steadfastly all Irish customs—to take the Oath of Supremacy and be conformable in religion. And they were forbidden to alien to any of the Irish who would not take the same oath, and manifest the same conformity as themselves.

With regard to the Irish natives, who were to be admitted as freeholders upon the Plantation, they were to have estates in fee farm, paying a yearly rent of ten pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, for every sixty acres, but not paying rent for the first year.* They were bound not

* *The English servitor has his land at the rate of sixty acres, for ten shillings—the Irish freeholder for the same quantity pays ten pounds.*

to take Irish exactions, and to adopt the agricultural and tillage systems of the English Pale. "Thus," as Sir Thomas Philips says, "after a prescribed number of freeholders and leaseholders were settled upon every land, and rents therein set down, they might let the remainder to natives, for lives, so as they were conformable in religion, and for the favour to double their rents."* The result of which was, that out of about two hundred Undertakers in the six counties, there were, in the year 1619, not more than ten or twelve Irish. The only share they had in the Plantation was the privilege of paying enormous rents for limited interests, and receiving small and inadequate wages for the labour they gave to the farms, the Castles and the Bawns of the Scotch and English adventurers, who had been thrust into their lands.

It was determined to appoint a commission to set forth the several proportions, and "to order and settle the Plantation" according to a code of instruction with which they were to be furnished by the King and his Council. The Undertakers were bound to attend the Commissioners, to receive directions about the management of their Plantations, and to enter into a bond before them, to perform the articles according to their several distinctions of Building, Planting, Residence, Alienation, and Leases. It was finally resolved that in all the escheated counties there should be a sufficient number of Market towns, and Corporations "for the habitation and settling of trades-

* "Letter to King Charles." Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 2

men and artificers," and one Free School at least in every county for the education of youth in learning and religion; that there should be an adequate number of Parish Churches and Incumbents in each county; and that Tithes should be paid by the people in kind.

If any process of reasoning could reconcile us to the mighty wrong of the Plantation, we should find sufficient grounds for admiration in the provisions contained in these orders. The conditions of tenure,—namely, residence, building, and fixed habitation,—were those most essentially required to produce tranquillity, social enjoyment, and industrial wealth. The habits of the people had been unsettled* and indolent, and they were contented with a mean shelter of hurdle-built huts, without permanence or beauty; the necessity imposed on them of raising houses with stone and lime, and of permanent residence, would control the roving dispositions of the people, and cover the face of the country with solid buildings for shelter and protection. Nor must we forget that the Undertakers and servitors were strictly enjoined not to create tenancies at will, but were, by the very terms of their patents, bound to give substantial interests for a long period of years or for life. But those who could have been reformed and civilized by such revolutions in habits

* It cannot be said that they were a wandering or Nomadic race, for each clan was confined to its own *patrimonial district*. They only wandered to make war upon their neighbours, or to take prey, or to levy such "*Irish exactions*" as excited the anger of Davies, and other plundering philanthropists.

and enjoyments, were excluded entirely from the benefit of the change. The leading principle of the Plantation, and the main idea of its designers was, "the avoiding of natives, and the planting only with British."* Such a system was too vicious to endure—extermination, which Spenser counselled, could alone have enabled the Plantation to work well, by a total removal of the original owners of the lands; but, without death or banishment, entire exclusion was impossible; they mingled with the new population in a communion of hatred and ill-will, and instead of a great nation, the fusion of many races, they presented for a long period the appearance of rival factions restrained, and that only occasionally by law, from attempting mutual destruction.

In pursuance of the direction of "the Orders and Conditions," a commission was issued to "our right trusty and well-beloved" Sir Arthur Chichester, four Bishops and Archbishops, eleven Knights, and to William Parsons, Surveyor-General, and George Sexton, the Escheator, within Ulster,† to inquire into the lands, manors, and

* Letter of Sir Thomas Smith to King Charles.

† The following are the Commissioners: Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy; Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh; Bishops of Derry and Kilmore; Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Treasurer at war; Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal;* Sir Humphry Winche, Chief Justice; Sir John Densham, Chief Baron; Sir Oliver St. John, Master of the Ordnance; Sir Oliver Lambert;

* Wingfield was the founder of the Powerscourt family, one of the successful soldiers of fortune, who were the material of much nobility in Ireland.

stles, that had come *or ought to have come*, to the hands of James or his predecessors, by attain, cheat, forfeiture, or by any means whatsoever—make exact surveys in each of the counties, by the number of Ballyboes, Tathes, Polls, or acres—and after such inquisition and survey, to lot and divide the lands into Parishes, Precincts, and Proportions, and to distinguish them by particular names, mears, and bounds, having reference to the intentions of the Project and the orders. To these Commissioners were given the most ample powers of hearing, and determining, all matters between the King and the Planters, and between party and party. The following are the articles for instruction to the Commissioners, for the Plantation of Ulster :

JAMES REX.

1st. That a general care be taken, that such Orders, conditions, and Articles, as have been lately published in print, or are to be printed or transmitted, touching the Plantation, be observed, and put in execution, as well by the Commissioners, as by the Undertakers.

2d. That the said Commissioners be ready to begin their journey into our Province of Ulster for the Execution of their Commission before the end of July next, or sooner if it may be.

3d. The omissions and defects in the former survey of the escheated lands in Ulster, either for us or the church, are to be supplied and amended by new Inqui-

ry Henry Power; Sir Gerald Moore; Sir Adam Loftus; the last five were of the Privy Council); Sir Richard Crooke, Principal Secretary for Ireland; Sir John Davies, Attorney-General; William Parsons, Surveyor-General; and George Sexton, Esq., Escheator for Ulster. The latter office was no sinecure in James's time, as the extent roll of his reign will abundantly testify.

sitions, and the ecclesiastical lands to be distinguished from the lands belonging to the crown.

4th. The counties being divided into several proportions, every proportion is to be bounded out by the known Metts and Names, with the particular mention both of the number and name, of every Ballyboe, Tathe, Poll, Quarter, or the like Irish precinct of land, that is contained in every portion, and to give each portion a proper name to be known by, and in the proportions lying near to the high ways, choice is to be made of the most fit seat for Undertakers to build upon, in such sort as may best serve for the safety and succour of passengers; and also to allot and set out by Mears and Bounds unto every proportion so much Bogg and Wood over and above his number of Acres, as the place where the proportion shall lie may conveniently afford, having respect to the adjacent proportions.

5th. Because the article of casting lots discourageth many that are sufficient, and would be glad to dwell together, that therefore every county be divided in greater precincts, every precinct containing eight, ten, to twelve thousand acres, according to the greatness of the county, and those precincts to contain several proportions lying together, to the end that so many consorts of Undertakers may here be appointed as there are several precincts; which being done, then these consorts may cast lots for the precincts, and afterwards divide every precinct amongst the particular Undertakers of that consort, either by agreement or by lot; and this form not to be concluded but upon consideration taken thereof by the Commissioners there, who having reported back their opinions, some such course may be resolved, as to us shall be thought most convenient.

6th. To cause plots to be made of every county, and in the said plot to prick out the several precincts, and in the precincts the several proportions by their names.

7th. Such great woods, as the Commissioners shall make choice of to be preserved for our use, are to be excepted out of the proportions, and to be reserved for the Undertakers' buildings, and for such other purposes as to us shall be thought fit.

8th. That in the surveys observation be made wh

proportions by name are fittest to be allotted to the Britons, what to the Servitors, and what to the Natives; wherein this respect is to be had, *that the Britons be put in places of best safety, the Natives to be dispersed, and the Servitors planted in those places, which are of greatest importance to serve the rest.*

9th. The Commissioners are to limit and bound out the precincts of the several parishes, according to their discretions, notwithstanding the limitation of the precinct; wherein they may observe the ancient limits of the old parishes, so as the same breed not a greater inconvenience to the Plantation, and to assign to the incumbent of each parish a Glebe after the rate of three-score Acres for every thousand Acres within the parishes in the most convenient places, or nearest to the churches; and for the more certainty to give each Glebe a certain name, whereby it may be known; and to take order, that there be a proviso in the letters patent for passing the Glebes to restrain the alienations thereof, saving during incumbencies.

10th. It is fit, that certain portions be allotted and laid out for towns in the places mentioned in the project, or in more convenient places, as shall seem best to the Commissioners, having regard that the land be laid as near to the towns as may be.

11th. The parcels of land, which shall be allotted to the College of Dublin, and to the Free Schools in the several counties, are to be set out and distinguished by Mears and Bounds, to the end the same may be accordingly passed by several grants from us. The Commissioners likewise are to set out the quantity of three great proportions lying together in the County of Armagh to be allotted to the said College of Dublin, and six thousand Acres to be taken out of the lands omitted in the last survey (if so much shall be found), these to be only of our land, and not of the Church land.

12th. That there be set out and reserved twelve thousand Acres, either out of the proportions, or otherwise out of the lands omitted in the survey, in such counties and places, as to our Deputy and Commissioners shall be thought meet, the same to be disposed by us for the Endowment of an Hospital to be erected for maimed and

diseased Soldiers, in such place and manner, as we shall hereafter appoint.

13th. The Commissioners shall by the authority given them hear and determine all titles and controversies by final Order and Decree, that shall be brought before them, concerning any lands and possessions (the Church lands only excepted) which nevertheless they shall have also power to Order and Decree (as aforesaid) so it be done with the consent of the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the now bishop of Derry. They shall also compound for titles between us and our subjects, and between party and party.

14th. And whereas complaint is made, that the sites of some Cathedral Churches, the places of the residence of the Bishops, Deans, Chapters, Dignitaries, and Prebends in Ulster, be passed away to divers in fee-farm by letters patent under pretence of Monastery lands, to the great detriment of those Churches, the Commissioners shall have authority to examine the same, and finding the information true, to consider of some course to be taken for restitution to be made to the Churches from whence they were formerly taken, with such consideration to those that now hold them, as standeth with equity, according to the circumstances considerable. And further we are pleased, that the escheated lands, out of which the Bishops have had heretofore rent, certainty of refectons, or pensions, should be esteemed Ecclesiastical, and be annexed to the several Sees whereunto they did pay the same, whereof the Commissioners are to take particular notice, and to see the same effected accordingly.

15th. You our Deputy shall cause our Judges and learned Counsel to set down our titles to the several lands lately escheated in Ulster, to see the records to be perfited, and to take care that they may be safely preserved and kept secret, and to transmit the cases hither under the hands of our Judges and learned Counsel.

16th. All Acts, Orders, and Decrees, resolved there to be recorded into two books, the one to remain there in some Court of Record, and the other to be transmitted to our Counsel here.

17th. It is also to be considered what portions are fit to be allotted to the Mother of the late Earl of Tyrconnel, the Mother of Mac Gwire, Katherine Butler, the late Widow of Mulmorie O'Rely, and such others as claim jointures; and that the Commissioners do (if they have cause) allow the same unto them during their lives, and the reversion to the natives, with condition that they observe the Articles of the Plantation, as other Undertakers do, or otherwise to assign them recompence in some other place.

18th. The river fishings in loughs and rivers are to be allotted unto the proportions next adjoining unto the loughs and rivers, wherein the said fishings are, the one moiety to the proportion lying on the one side of the river or lough, and the other moiety to the proportion lying on the other side, unless by necessity or incon-
 veniency it shall be found fitting to be allotted to the one side; for which fishing some increase of rent is to be reserved unto us, as to the Commissioners shall be thought fit.

19th. That return be made of their proceedings and doings by virtue of this Commission and instructions before Hallow-mass next, that we may have convenient time to resolve thereupon this winter, and to signify our pleasure against the next spring.

In pursuance of the terms of this very ample commission, inquisitions were held concerning the escheated lands, and were returned to the Rolls Office.* Other inquisitions issued con-

* In this country, owing to the niggardly spirit, if nothing worse, of Government, the records are badly kept, and but few of them are printed. In the Rolls' Office, in the Custom House, in the Record Department of the Paymaster of Civil Services (Custom House), and in the Record Tower in the Castle, there are immense numbers of the most valuable documents for the elucidation of both national and family history. But there is no government in Ireland. What bears the name of England, after printing the Ordinance Memoir of Der-

cerning the escheated mountains, and inquisitions were held, and the findings with regard to Cavan, Fermanagh, Donegal, and Tyrowen are forthcoming.

We have now before us the means of judging the merits of this Plantation. The titles existing under its patents are sanctified by time and secure by public honour. It would not be open to the nation to canvass the original sin of grants which long possession has rendered sacred. But though none but vulgar fanatics would read history with a view to revive a Court of Claims, or imitate the villanous attempt which Charles the First made to discover defective titles,* still it would be a great error in politics for a nation ever to forget the occurrence of such a political phenomenon as the Plantation of Ulster. It is only with a view to assist in keeping alive a vivid memory of this mighty wrong, to display the internal machinery of the work, to trace the natural results flowing from the loss of independence, namely, cruelty and confiscation,† that this essay has been written.

refused to go on with the rest, though thereby we should have the authentic history of Ireland complete. The same government printed the roll of patents of James the First and Charles the First, and were then stopped by their economy. It would be well if any Irish member who has time to spare would turn his valuable attention to this matter.

* Dr. Madden, with considerable power, defends the designer of Ortelius' map from having such an object.—*United Irishmen*, vol. ii., 2nd series, p. 508. in the Appendix.

† Is not confiscation rife at this moment? The whole revenues and the rents of Ireland are confiscated to

The Plantation, though it did not fulfil its original idea—grand and abominable—of destroying an entire people, wrought some singular effects in the history of Ireland, and produced a strange influence on the fortunes of those kingly robbers by whom it was designed. In that remarkable colony which the first Stuart planted in the broad estates of Irish princes, noblemen, and gentlemen, his wretched son and grandson encountered the most inveterate hostility. On the banks of a memorable river that ran through the old territories of Ultonia, the last of the Stuarts expiated his sins against Liberty. The crimes of the father were visited with usurious interest on the head of the son.

But it is in Ulster that the effects of the plantation are most striking. The new people have kept aloof from the ancient inhabitants; difference of creed, difference of habits, difference of tradition, and more than all, the operation of the Penal Code, have kept them sundered. The traditional memories of the Northern Irish look towards Scotland. For one short period, brilliant, futile and delusive, a new spirit seemed to arise in the principalities of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells. The independence of Ireland had been torn from her by a parliamentary usurpation; her ancient constitutional rights, which had survived the throes of her long struggle, were trampled on by the English legislature; the nation awoke to resistance—Ulster pondered

*of England, to the utter pauperization of those who
led them all.*

on the reasonings of Molyneux, and was fired by the inspired eloquence of Grattan; and in the very heart of the Plantation, in the halls of Dungannon,* the Volunteers of Ireland pronounced her Liberty.

But alas! even in that great movement, the "meer Irish" were to be again excluded. They were to obtain as scant a gift of freedom as their fathers of property; the inveterate prejudices and traditions which, by the principle of the Confiscation, were inseparable from the descendants of the Scotch and English Undertakers, were busy with Irish freedom, and succeeded in rendering a great army a mere gewgaw and a pageant, and what might have been a National Revolution little more than a military pantomime. The predominant feeling of the highest men amongst the Volunteers was against the "meer Catholics;" furious for liberty, they were liberal of exclusion; the genius of Flood, the amiable and benevolent insipidity of Charlemont could not save them from intolerance or from fear of their countrymen; they foolishly imagined that a nation could be created out of such elemental discord as their religious exclusiveness must of necessity have produced. And their glory was turned into derision; they repelled

* "The Lord Chichester hath one thousand one hundred and forty acres, called Dungannon. Upon this is built a fort of lime and stone, with four half bulwarks and a deep ditch around it, twenty feet broad, and counterscarped. His lordship is to build a town in Dungannon, for which there is laid out 500 acres." *Pynnar's Survey, in Harris's Hibernica*, p. 208.

it is true, "the dangerous intrusion of the natives;" but they lost their country.

By incessant war, and by the intrigues of English policy, the entire people of Ireland had been reduced to the lowest scale of social life—their lands were ravaged, the fruits of the earth destroyed, the villages of the peasantry burned, the peasantry themselves driven to the fastnesses and the forests. The first object was to re-people the deserted plains, to stud them with permanent residences, provided with all the necessaries of civilized homes; to cluster together groups of habitations, where industrial association would in time produce commerce and create national wealth; and the provisions given in the Conditions for Undertakers tended to procure this desired result. Though the directions with regard to castles and bawns were not strictly complied with, yet villages and towns gradually arose in the escheated counties; strongly protected fortresses and mansions sprung up on every side; houses of worship—not, indeed, of the banished faith, the old inheritance of Ulster, but of new and hungry religionists, of discordant creeds—and schools for the education of youth, were seen in most parts of the North.

No better choice could have been made than the Scotch to form the staff of the colony. They were thrifty, industrious, hungry, avaricious, and persevering, and had made great advances in social improvement, agriculture, and manufactures. They were well adapted to fulfil another object of the Plantation, the creation of an industrious pop-

lation in the North, by whose energies and resolution the great natural resources of the country might be turned to the best account. And in this they succeeded fully. In no other part of Ireland can be found the same amount of commercial enterprise and manufacturing activity; in no where else are the peasantry more industrious and frugal, and with so high a standard of social comfort; and in Ulster alone, after all its revolutions and all the terrible sufferings of social convulsion, do we find any protection given to the tillers of the soil against the harsh practices and overweening egotism of proprietorship.* The restraints upon the creation of tenancies at will has acted well: the tenures in the North are generally valuable freeholds, to which are attached a great protection for industry and a great stimulant for enterprise.

But all these fair promises—all these castles, churches, schools—all this busy hum of industry, this trade and manufacture were of small avail. The exclusion of the natives planted a germ of destruction in the goodly enterprize. Their extermination would have been a matter much to have been desired by English statesmen and Scotch adventurers. But it is not so easy to exterminate a people. How could a population even reduced as the Northern clans were, be driven from their native soil? † Torn from their dwellings, what was to be done with them? With

* *The Tenant Right.* It grows directly, but not naturally, out of the Plantation.

† *De Beaumont*, vol. 1, Taylor's Transl. page 36.

hundred Raleighs their entire destruction would have been a difficult matter—and if the enviable immolation of their eradication were unattainable, how and where were they to live? A middle way was adopted; life was awarded on the conditions of ill paid labour and oppressive rents. The natives became the hewers of wood and the carriers of water, where they had once owned the land and reaped for themselves its abundant fruits. The two elements were placed in continual angry opposition; ownership and usurpation, mingled with diversity of creed and race. The fruits were visible in the affair of 1641; *

Mr Beaumont, who takes too much for granted the truth of the accounts of the Rebellion, makes an ingenious but certainly not an accurate, remark upon it:—"On ce jour, dans cet instant solennel où toutes les passions sont en jeu, juger celle qui dominaient dans leur ame; est remarquable pas un seul Ecossais ne fut tué; la vengeance se porta sur les Anglais. N'est-ce pas que le sentiment national était alors chez eux supérieur à la passion religieuse? Les Ecossais étaient par leur Puritanisme les plus terribles ennemis de la Religion Catholique; mais c'étaient des ennemis nouveaux, tandis que leurs ennemis invétérés, leur ennemis de cinquante ans, c'étaient les Anglais de Henri VIII., d'Elizabeth, derniers conquérants, les Anglais des colonies, spoliateurs et Protestants. Dans l'exécution de cette terrible vengeance, où se résument tant de vengeances et de ressentiments, il se commit de grands crimes dont on a à peine le courage de présenter le récit." "In this moment, when all the passions of the Irish were at work, we may judge which passion was predominant in their souls; and it is remarkable that in the first instance not a single Scotchman was killed; their vengeance in the beginning was directed against the English. Was not this because the national sentiment was superior to religious passions? The Scotch

nor, though better prospects now appear, have the effects of the great error of the Plantation altogether ceased. There was no policy but this—to exterminate or to consolidate; neither was adopted, and the result was that the Plantation proved to be an unsuccessful experiment of reformation, a great oppression without anything ennobling to atone for its grievous wrongs.

from their puritanism, were the most terrible enemies of Catholic Ireland; but they were new enemies, whilst their inveterate enemies, the enemies of five centuries, were the English, the English of Henry II., the first invader, the English of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the last conquerors, the English of James I., protestant and plundering settlers. In the execution of terrible vengeance, in which so many ancient resentments were united, cruelties were committed which will scarcely bear recital.”—*De Beaumont's Ireland, Taylor's translation*, vol. 1, p. 67. De Beaumont had probably read “Temple's Rebellion,” the most arrant collection of profane falsehood in English literature. Milton says, that five hundred thousand Protestants were murdered; Leland more wisely reduces the number to twelve thousand; whereas Pynnar, who surveyed the escheated counties in 1619, gives as the amount of his accurate examination the following figures; the whole contents of the six counties are, families 1974: men capable of bearing arms, 6215.

CHAPTER VI.

Picture of Ulster—Tables of the Escheated Property—
Taking seizin.

THERE are many derivations given by different writers of the name of Ulster. Some assert that it comes from *Uladh*, which signifies "great wealth," thus indicating that fatal fertility which attracted the cupidity of the neighbouring British races. Others attribute it to Ollamh, a celebrated monarch, who, several centuries before our era, reigned over the Kingdom of Ulster. The name of *Uladh* was applied in later times solely to Dalaradia (which the Irish pronounce Dal-aree) comprising the following districts—Iveagh, Magennis's country; Kinelarty, Mac Artan's country; The Ardes, the country of the Savadges;* Clanaodhbhuigh, Upper and Lower; the principality of Mac Neill Boye, "a bloodie rebbele." This name obtained the classic form of *Ulidia*, and the general designation of the Northern Kingdom was dignified into *Ultonia*.

Ancient Ulster, "that land good and flourishing, with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of provision, the soil rich and fer-

* An English colony, which has kept its place in the lower Ardes from the time of John De Courcy, Earl of Ulster, 1172.

tile, the air sweet and temperate, the havens very safe and commodious"—that illustrious seat of piety and the centre of enlightenment—comprised the territories of Oirgiall, or Uriell, now Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh, with some parts of Tyrowen and Fermanagh; Dal-Rieda, the northern part of Antrim; Tir Eogain and Tirconnail, now Tyrowen, Derry, and Donegal; and Fermanagh.†

The aspect of the country is bold and picturesque. Filled with fertile and extensive plains and exquisite "glynnes," it possesses still nobler features in the majestic mountains of Down, where Slieve Donnard raises his lofty head three thousand feet above the sea. Through Antrim, Tyrowen, Coleraine, Tyrconnell, and Fermanagh, the eye rests every where upon these great children of Nature,—in Cavan the lofty Cuilcagh, the cradle of the Shannon, from which it pours its wealth of waters through eleven counties, towers in pride above the ancient territories of the O'Reillys. But of a still more exquisite beauty are those small, conical hills, covered with the teeming evidences of fertility, with their green uplands and finely cultivated slopes, skirted with overhanging woods, that have as yet escaped the axe. The folly of superstition, which imposed on the credulity of such writers as the priest Cambrensis, has

* *Sir John Temple's History of the Rebellion*, p. 6, 7th ed.

† There is a very valuable note of Mr. O'Donovan on this subject, in a paper of his, treating of the Charter of Newry.—*Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 102.

peopled these vales and glynnes and romantic hills with fountains of wonder-working power ;* but the only marvels to be witnessed there, are the miracles of beauty which Nature's kindly hand is ever working.

Scattered over the face of Ulster are Lakes or Loughs, some possessing the magnitude of inland seas, and others much smaller, but deep and well stored with fish—"so that they are not only delightful, especially such as are situated in some dale or valley, or environed round about by pleasant little hills (as it falleth out in the most of them), but also commodious and profitable, affording good opportunity of building houses and castles on their borders, which was done in many places by the English and the Scotch, who had made several fair plantations, *and would have done more* if it had not been hindered by that horrible rebellion of the bloody Irish ; in the beginning of which many of them were destroyed by these barbarians."† These diminutive lakes were dotted with islands, which are both "commodious and pleasant." In the isles of the larger lakes, such as Lough Erne and the Lake of Feval, we are told by Boate, were often-

* See Boate's *Natural Philosophy of Ireland*, chap. vii., section iii., on the fabulous fountains of Giraldus Cambrensis. It appears that Barry (who was a Welshman, and therefore, with the affectation of many middling scholars, called himself Cambrensis) says that there was one Ulster fountain in which the fortunate man who dipped himself would never become grey. Barry had enormous powers of belief, and attributed the same qualification to others.

† "*Natural Philosophy of Ireland*," chap. 9, sec. 1.

times to be found the dwellings of the Planters. Such of the islands as were not inhabited were without woodland, but being in general covered with sweet grass they were turned into pasture for all kinds of cattle.

Boate gives a pleasing picture of the studious and contemplative life of those who dwelt in the sweet sylvan solitudes of the lakes, where they passed their time in much contentment, finding there not only privacy and quiet with opportunity for study and contemplation, "but besides great delightfulness in the place, with a variety of very sweet pastimes in fowling, fishing, planting, and gardening." Certainly it was not without true Scotch foresight that these apostles of civility adopted the Ulster mission. In one of the large isles of Lough Erne, Sir Henry Spottiswood, had a fine seat, surrounded, after the most approved Planter-fashion with frowning battlements and bawns, that would have won approving smiles from Pynnar; orchards bending under the white weight of their blossoms; gardens rich in every child of Flora; and a picturesque village with its church and steeple (and doubtless an incumbent with his due proportion and his glebe lands) which comfortable establishment, "whether it is in being yet or destroyed by the barbarian and bloody rebels I am not informed."* Possibly the barbarian bloody rebels may have cast some looks

* Boate, chap. 9, p. 43. This Boate can never look at a scene in nature, let it be the most charming or sublime, without examining its conveniences for a Planter. His taste in landscape is the taste of a Scotch Planter; is quite brigandesque.

upon their old pleasure grounds in the loughs, greatly to the disconcerting of Sir Henry. The dreams of Spenser were disturbed after some such fashion in the palace of Desmond, on the banks of the Mulla.

Lough Erne is filled with islands, the most remarkable of which, though not for natural beauty, is Devenish. It contains the ruins of an ancient Priory of the date of 1449, which, however, could not have for any great length of time escaped the marauding barbarism of the day; for Sir John Davies, in his letter to Salisbury (1606) says that the Lord Deputy, during his Northern circuit, held his sessions in the Isle of Devenish, *in the ruins of an old abbey there.** But though Lough Erne has more picturesque beauty, Lough Neagh is a lake of greater size and greater importance. It waters five of the counties, three of them being escheated lands, Tyrowen, Armagh, and Derry. The waters of this great inland sea are swelled by six river tributaries and numberless brooks.† It was said to possess healing and petrifying powers, and Stuart mentions that a lough near Armagh, which had been drained by Mr. Maxwell at Eanachbuidhe (afterwards called Rosebrook,) possessed the latter quality

* Sir John Davies's "Letter to Lord Salisbury," p. 242.

† Harris repeats some dull fables, about the origin of this lake. *Harris's Down*, p. 157. He says that the ancient historians of Ireland assert, that at the time of the arrival of Partholanus, which with wonderful accuracy they have decided upon as having occurred in the 1969th year of the world, there were but three lakes and ten rivers of any consequence in Ulster.

in a great degree.* There are several magnificent inlets of the sea to which the name of Lake has been given, namely Strangford, Swilly, Foyle. In Cavan, Lough Outer extends over eight miles in length, and on the borders of Meath is the beautiful Lough Sheelin. Various smaller lakes are scattered through the North, all possessing a rare degree of picturesque beauty. It is said that many singular sudden births of lakes, bursting fiercely from the earth by volcanic action, have occurred in Ulster. More than a thousand years before our era, Lough Foyle broke upon the bordering countries, in an inundation from which it took its name of Feval, having carried off in its waves Feabhal the son of Lodin one of the Danaanic chiefs. Later by two centuries Lough Erne rushing forth with the same disastrous fury covered whole tracts of country; and still later (A. D. 62) Lough Neagh buried immense plains, swept away villages and people, and hid the most elegant architectural remains beneath its rushing waters :

“ On Lough Neagh’s banks, as the fisherman strays,
When the cold calm eve’s declining,
He sees the Round Towers of other days
In the waves beneath him shining.”

That these eruptions were the produce of volcanic action, may be concluded from the fact that basaltic rocks, which are admitted to be of volcanic origin, are present on the shores of Neagh.

The inland counties being thus supplied with *these* great and beautiful sheets of water, the

* History of Armagh, p. 491. .

Northern, Eastern and Western frontier is the Sea. Round the vast coast, from Carlingford Bay, whose waves wash the southern shores of Down even to the Erne, which is a link of connection between that lovely lake and the Atlantic, numerous bays, deeply indenting that ocean frontier line, open their arms wide to commerce. The coast is irregular, running along the Ardes, the ancient territory of the Savadges, to the Giant's Causeway, that great Basaltic wall, that columnar barrier, vast, precipitous, sublime, placed on the shores of Antrim as it were to protect the island from the Northern seas.

A very startling edifice of nature is the columned greenstone promontory of Fairhead or Benmore, a spiral precipice 250 feet above the sea, which latter beats with solemn and majestic swell upon the huge rocks that lie in broken masses, like a waste of ruins, at its feet. Near the Causeway, on the crest of a brown basaltic rock stand the interesting ruins of Dunluce Castle. Along the whole line of coast, on many a cape and promontory and on several of the islands, are the remains of abbeys and churches, which attest the antiquity and beauty of the ecclesiastical architecture of ancient Ireland.

Another grand irregularity is the peninsula of Inishowen, where the most northern point of Ireland endures the waves that lashed the Arctic Isles. Hence to the river Erne, a bold and lofty frontier meets the vast Atlantic. Nature has been liberal of bulwarks to a people willing to *be free*.

The soil of Ulster is intersected by many rivers

and streams, which though not rivalling in beauty the Blackwater of Munster, or the Liffey, Princess of Irish rivers,* nor yet of the stream that flows between the soft and woodland banks of Lee, were of considerable pretension and utility, and all perfectly capable of being diverted to the purposes of internal navigation.

The leading rivers of Ulster are the Boyle, the Blackwater, and the Bann, and though the other streams are generally of small extent, they nearly all terminate in capacious bays and loughs,† giving to the country the means of water communication and a large number of secure and spacious harbours, whilst they form an agreeable feature in the landscape. The Blackwater now runs through a highly cultivated and rich country, but at the time of the Plantation its banks were the rudest portion of the North.

Ireland cannot be called a mountainous land, the whole central portion being a vast limestone plain; yet, in the south-western and the North, there are mountainous ridges and single mountains, which in extent are superior, and in height equal to any in England, except the Welsh ranges. Whilst on the borders of Leinster and Munster, Slieve Bloom, the Knockmeldown, and the Galtees form long and lofty ranges.—Kerry presents the nobler hills, which includes within their embrace the beautifully wooded lakes and sylvan solitudes of Killarney. In the

* “*Natural Philosophy of Ireland*,” sect. 3, chap. 8.

† The word Lough, is peculiarly applied to lakes made by the sea.

ther quarter of Ireland, the Mourne mountains are a great granitic boundary to the south of Down, and vast ranges run through Tyrowen, Donegal, and Derry. The entire coast of Antrim is mountainous in its nature, presenting to the Scotch seas an iron-bound frontier of rocky cliffs.

The bogs of Ulster are numerous and extensive, occupying much over two hundred thousand acres of the province. The much discussed question of the origin of these bogs, is fortunately not necessary in this place; the probability is, however, that the want of drainage has been the cause of their growth.* To a considerable ex-

* "Very few of the wet bogs in Ireland are such by any natural property, or primitive constitution, but through the superfluous moisture that in length of time hath been gathered therein, whether it have its original within the place itself, or become thither from without. The first of these two cases taketh place in the most part of the grassy bogs, which ordinarily are occasioned by springs; the which arising in great number out of some parcel of ground, and finding no issue, do by degrees soak through, and bring it to that rottenness and stinkiness, which nevertheless is not a little increased through the rain water coming to that of the springs. But the two other sorts, viz. the watry and hassocky bogs, are in some places caused by the rain water only, and in other thro' brooks and rivulets running into them, and in some thro' both together; whereunto many times also cometh the cause of the grassy bogs, to wit, the store of springs within the very ground: and all this in places, where or through the situation of them, and by reason of their even plainness or hollowness, or through some other impediment, the water hath no free passage away, but remaineth within them, and so by degrees turneth them into bogs."—*Natural History of land.*

tent, and considering the lack of coal and latterly of wood, they have been useful, but the proportion which bog bears to available land in Ulster is far too great. Dr. Warner made a handsome suggestion, for at once bestowing property on the Ulster Catholics and making some use of the bogs—namely, to give the Papists a title to the latter, on condition of their reclaiming the undrained bog-land. Whatever may be their origin, or their utility, they are a characteristic feature in the Northern landscape. The dry bog looks fair and pleasant, contrasting with the green meadows and the picturesque knolls of Ulster scenery, but the watery and muddy bogs are neither very useful, nor at all a matter of ornament.*

Ireland had been called the woody island, and Ulster contributed largely to that name. In the old days, before the Anglo Norman arrival, the land was full of forests.† But when the Norman pirates and robbers had established their settlements, they commenced in the districts where they were masters to demolish the woods, for the purpose of increasing the amount of valuable land, (though they appear for many centuries to have made scant profit of what they had,) and to deprive “the rogues and thieves who used to lurk in the woods of their refuge and their starting holes.”‡ At the time Boate wrote, the woods had been, by this process of

* Dr. Warner's “History of Ireland,” vol. 1, p. 29.

† Boate, Nat. Hist. of Ireland, p. 66.

‡ Ibid, p. 67. These rogues and thieves, we may presume, were the natives whom the honest men had deprived of their lands and their cattle.

reformation, very much reduced ; the forests and the independence of the people went together ; for after Hugh O'Neill's war the quantity of timber had diminished, and has continued to decrease to such a degree that Ireland would probably now be characterized by the absence of woods. But even at the termination of the wars of the League,* Ulster remained well supplied with wood ; for example, all that highly cultivated district through which the Blackwater flows, was then a dense forest. The exigencies of building, resulting from the conditions of the Plantation, soon however destroyed, even quicker than war or the axe, the remaining wood ; and the lofty trees, beneath whose canopy so many generations of the people of the soil had wandered, loved, and fought, gave shelter to their bitterest enemies, and strength and permanence to their Baronial castles.

The evidence of the former abundance of timber, putting out of account the statements of writers, is furnished by every bog in the country. At Stranmore near Monallen a forest of oak, ash, and alder, was discovered in the last century lying in layers, for over a mile, and at eight feet depth below the surface ;† and there is scarcely a bog in Ireland which could not give its contribution from the buried timber of the country. A great want of wood is experienced in Ireland ; timber is never planted by the people ; and, in most parts of Ireland, there are no landlords either to

* A fit name for the confederation of the O'Donnells, the O'Neills, and the O'Reillys.

† See *ante*, the extract from Warner's History.

plant it themselves, or to encourage their tenantry to do it.*

Such is the superficial appearance of Ulster, picturesque, bold, and of an agreeable variety of land and water; with deep and extensive bays, a frontier line of rock-bound coast; good harbourage; fishing grounds abundant and secure; large wooded lakes opening up the communication of numerous counties, and navigable rivers traversing the plains; lofty mountains, and the most beautiful vallies. Then her bosom teems with ore, minerals, and coals, the active agents and the chief stimulant of industry and skill.

On the coast of Antrim at Ballycastle,† the re-

* "If, instead of making new purchases, the gentry would improve the old estates by draining, and planting, and making hedge rows, and inclosures with all the arts of good husbandry, (the expense of trees and ditches being trivial, and the work performed by their own poor cottagers at low wages,) this would be an advancement of their estates perhaps to double their value."—*Warner's History*, vol. 1, p. 49.

† Ballycastle might have been a place of great consequence. Its position and its manufacturing prosperity entitled it to almost the first place as a town of export and import into which the Boyds endeavoured to convert it. But the gross selfishness of what they comically call "the Irish Society," a collection of London tradesmen, of whom we shall see something presently, successfully opposed and prevented this design. The pier and quay are now in ruins, the harbour blocked up, the collieries not worked, collieries which exported annually 15,000 tons. Every thing speaks of Chancery and the Irish Society. "In consequence of endeavours having been lately made in the Irish Parliament for making Ballycastle a port, the Society exerted their utmost influence, in conjunction with the corporation of Londonderry and others, to prevent it; and it was proposed by the F

of coal-mining are visible, and of a date
 being further back into antiquity than the
 credulous advocates of Irish civilization
 ever gone, rebuking by their presence the
 of more modern times. Wood, in his
 touching the primitive inhabitants of
 id, says that these coal-mines were worked
 e Danaanic colony.* At all events they
 from an early period productive, and em-
 l the people in the most valuable labour.
 e face of which facts, Dr. Boate† has the
 mpudence to say, that the Anglo Normans
 the first to work them; "the Irish, *as being*
of the most barbarous nations of the whole
 , having at all times been so far from seeking
 ay that even in these last years and since
 nglish began to discover some, that none of
 at all, great nor small, *at any time* hath
 ed himself to that business, or in the least

that as the affair concerned the interest of the
 l Companies of the city of London, the Governor
 be desired to apprise the Court of Lord Mayor
 ldermen of the present situation and circumstances
 f; and it was therefore unanimously resolved, that
 erner should make a representation to the Court
 rd Mayor and Aldermen on the subject. A me-
 or representation of the Society relating to Bally-
 was ordered to be presented by the Governor to
 urt of Common Council, which was done accord-
 and the Court of Common Council commended
 al and prudence of the Society, as well in regard
 measures which they had already pursued, as the
 ation they were pleased to make to that Court for
 advice and assistance in the matter."—*Concise*
of the Irish Society, p. 65.

od, quoted by Moore, vol. 1, p. 200.
 te, p. 69.

manner furthered it." He goes on, with an expanding ignorance to assert that all the mines found in Ireland have been discovered by "the New English," that is, by those who came in since Elizabeth. The same explorers, he says, have discovered iron mines, and he thinks that the results of their labours have been to prove that our mountains, of which Ulster has more than her share, possess wonderful metallic treasures, nay, even gold itself. In a rivulet of Tyrowen, called Miola, which falls into Lough Neagh, gold has been gathered of the purest metal;* and modern science, with a gravity that does not belong to ancient speculation, has sanctioned the convictions of national pride, that this country is rich in the possession of those attractive treasures for which man has toiled and fought and died in every age.†

Ulster participated largely in all that made Ireland beautiful, wealthy, and civilized. She had fertility, comeliness and strength; she was a well chosen victim for the passions of conquest, a fit subject for the cupidity of her despoilers.

That the success of the Plantation, this favourite project of a line of sovereigns, was a matter of intense interest to the English court, we can well imagine. It so occurred that the division of the plunder and the conditions on which men held their land were not pleasing to all. The Scotchman preferred the Irish tenant and the Irish labourer to his own countryman who was just as clever and as wise as himself—the English

*Boate, p. 70.

† Sir Robert Kane's *Industrial Resources*, p. 219, 2d ed.

Undertaker disliked the burthen of building a huge quadrangular castle with flanking towers and immense circumambient wall. These dislikes begat much disobedience of the Rules and Orders; the castles and bawns were not built as it was intended; the planted ground became thickly peopled with the natives who in the plains increased as rapidly as they had in the forest and on the mountain side; they obtained free admission into settlements from which the "Conditions," had of a fixed purpose excluded them; they were by degrees acquiring property and consolidating power; they were growing in the midst of their enemies—a strange and alarming presence there. The colonists were not increasing in their just proportion; "whilst," as a sorely disappointed Planter groaningly complains, "the natives who daily watch for the return of their young Lords Tyrowen and Tyrconnell,* and the rest now in the Spanish army, promising themselves a re-possession of their country, are at least four times as many."† It was a just vengeance of nature upon these dispossessioners, thus to increase the number of the Irish, but a cause of great perplexity and alarm to the English court. Commissions and superintendants were appointed, inquiries directed, and reports made; the inveterate evil increased, the whole great plan promised nothing but arrant failure; the fate of the Munster planters was remembered, and the doom of that

* These were the descendants of the Earls, who had gone into foreign service, and who with their descendants have since been amongst the most distinguished soldiers and statesmen in Europe.

† Letter of Sir Thomas Smith to the King, p. 245.

great settlement was freely predicted for the Ulster Plantation.

Amongst the number of inquirers who visited Ulster to point out the evils and to specify remedies, was Nicholas Pynnar; and fortunately for the history of the plantation and for a better comprehension of the habits and social arrangements of the day, his report has fully survived for our great edification. He was preceded by others who have left no memorials or valueless ones of their labours, and it is from him that we are principally to learn the prospects of the Plantation at a period when it had a fair trial. He prosecuted his inquiry during four months at the latter end of 1618 and the beginning of 1619. Not so garrulous as Sir John Davies, he has told us nothing of the manner in which he executed his "survey." Neither is the survey itself very full or explanatory, but it contains notices of men and things which are pleasantly quaint, and his brief sketches of the dwellings and habits of those who occupied the planted ground, are illustrative and informing. I have arranged this survey in an intelligible form, and have attached notes containing much of what Pynnar saw during his inquiry. I have from the Inquisition Book and the Patent Rolls of James and Charles, added the names of the attainted parties and the original patentees to his list of the occupiers in 1619, so that in one view the reader is presented with the history of the Plantation and the order *established* in Ulster by this remarkable revolution.* As for Pynnar, he never mentions any of

* In many instances these records gave but meagre

the former possessors; he is as silent on the subject as if an O'Neill had never caroused in the stile of Dungannon, or an O'Donnell fought on the plains of Donegal.

The changes of proprietorship are very numerous, the original patentees having in a majority of instances either parted with their interest entirely, or set to tenants with very long leases. No doubt these patentees—soldiers of fortune, captains, useful officials, cutters and stabbers, dowagers and jointresses, and demireps of the court—merely grasped the lands of Ulster to make a good traffic by their sale; hence we shall find in the following list repeated transference of the denominations from one to another, and a varying proprietorship which must have been very fatal to the quick success of the plantation. There is another set of circumstances on which I regret not to have been able to throw any light. There are some Irish secondary chiefs who were attainted, but on submission restored, and others who got back their own lands for valuable consideration of base treachery towards their fellows; and I am not able, from the materials I had, to discriminate between these with sufficient accuracy.

The historic interest of the Plantation ceases at the time of Pynnar's survey; a new order of things was then established, and a new pro-

formation. If we had a government in Ireland, all these public documents would be arranged, edited, and illustrated with notes. But they are not agreeable reading for Englishmen.

prietary ; new relations sprung up which will be found producing their effect in the subsequent war of '41 and thence even to the present day.

The following table, which yet I must acknowledge is very imperfect, is compiled from "Pynnar's Survey," the book of Inquisitions in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. from the Patent Rolls in the same reigns, compiled in barbarous contracted Latin and entirely unindexed—and from some other obscure and most unattractive sources. And it will be permitted to me here again to exclaim against the penury and the other mean and disgraceful influences, which have induced the English Government practically to put their seal on the fountains of our history, by consigning to a most scandalous obscurity, the records and state papers of our country, these great and honest witnesses of dealings between us and them from the beginning. There are men enough in Ireland, who would gladly and gratuitously devote their time and intelligence to the arrangement and editing of these invaluable but now mouldering documents, to select those of great and public interest and worthy of publication, and to reject whatever is worthless. Even the principle of order itself should induce these English to open our own purse-strings, and to remove the chaos which at present exists in the department of the public deeds and records. It is to be hoped that some exertion will be made to effect this object, and *to stimulate the selfish and ignorant apathy of the Government.*

I.—COUNTY CAVAN—O'REILLY'S COUNTRY,

(Formerly called *Barragh O'Reilly*.)1.—*The Precinct of Clanchie, allotted to Scotch Undertakers.*

DENOMINATIONS.	ACRES.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1819
1 Castle Aubignie*	3000	Philip O'Reilly's lands escheated under Elizabeth, but were regranted in succession to his sons and brothers, who all fell in arms for their country. The last attaind took place in James's reign, and the lands went as herein set down in the Plantation.	1 } Lord Aubignie 2 } 3 }	1 } Sir James Hamilton. 2 } 3 }
2 Keneth				
3 Cashel				
4 Kilclogant	1000		4 John Hamilton	4 John Hamilton. 5 William Hamilton. 6 William Beattie.
5 Dromuck	1000			
6 Tanregie	1000			
Total	6000			

* Upon this proportion there is built a very large strong castle of lime and stone, called Castle Aubignie, with the castle of arms cut in free stone over the gate. This castle is King's Arms high, with four round towers for flankers, the five stories high, and twenty-eight feet broad, besides two towers, which be vaulted and do flank the house. There is also another bawn near adjoining to the former bawn, which is built of stone and clay, being one hundred feet square and twelve feet high; and in that bawn there are begun two houses of clay and stone, the one to be eighty feet long, and the other sixty, and each to be twenty feet in breadth. There is also a village, consisting of eight houses, joining to the bawn, being all inhabited with British tenants; also a water-mill and five houses adjoining it.

2.—The Precinct of Castlereahan or Castlerahan, allotted to Servitors and Natives.

DENOMINATIONS.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
Acre.	The O'Reillys.	1 Sir William Tassie ..	1
1 Mullagh ..		2 Sir Edmund Phettilace ..	2
2 Carrvyn ..		3 Lieutenant Garth ..	3
3 Murmod ..		4 Captain Ridgeway ..	4
4 Lowghrummar ..		6 Shane Mac Philip O'Reilly.	6
5 Muckon ..			
6 ..			
Total ..			

1 } Sir Thomas Ashe.
 2 }
 3 }
 4 Captain Culme.
 5 Sir John Elliot, knight.
 6 Shane Mac Philip O'Reilly.

* Upon this proportion there is an old castle new mended; but all the land is now inhabited with Irish.

† Upon this there is built a very good bawn of lime and stone, being seventy feet square, with two flankers, and is but all the land is inhabited with Irish.

‡ Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone twelve feet high; but all the land is inhabited with Irish.

§ Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone the Upon and eighty feet square, with two flankers, and 5 hundred feet high, and a house in it of lime and stone, one upon building, being now about the second story, the four is to set on. He hath four English families, and

this bawn standeth upon a passage, which is able to do good service.

Captain Culme is to build a town called Virginia; for which he is allowed two hundred and fifty acres. Upon this he hath built eight timber houses, and put into them English tenants; of which town there is a minister, which keepeth school, and is a very good preacher.

¶ Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone sixty feet square, and a small house, all the land being inhabited with Irish.

¶ Upon this proportion is a small bawn of soda, and an Irish house, wherein he dwelleth.

...the extent of damage, allowed to occur during.

DENOMINATIONS.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTERS.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1 Tullavine ^{Acres.} 1500	The O'Reillys.	1 Capt. H. Culme	1 Captain Hugh Culme, and Archibald Moore, Esq.
2 Drumsheel 750		2 Sir Thomas Ashe	2 Sir Thomas Ashe and John Ashe.
3 Itterrytraut 1000		3 Mulmorie Mac P. O'Reilly.	3 Mulmorie Mac P. O'Reilly.
4 Liscannort 1000		4 Captain Bally	4 Captain Bally.
5 .. § 3000		5 Mulmorie Mac P. O'Reilly.	5 Mulmorie Mac P. O'Reilly.
6 Itterry 2000		6 Capt. R. Tyrrell	6 Capt. Richard Tyrrell and William Tyrrell.
7 Liscurean 3000		7 Maurice Mac Telligh ..	7 Maurice Mac Telligh.
Total .. 12,250			

• Upon this proportion the bawn and towers are thoroughly finished, and now the roof of the house is framed, ready to be set up. It standeth in a place of great strength; already Archibald Moore, with his wife and family dwelling in it. He hath four English families about him; the rest of the land is inhabited with Irish.

Use of this proportion there is a very strong bawn of four flankers, and a deep moat, a good Irish house with it; in which himself and family dwelleth. He hath a good stock.

made in 1711

‡ Upon this there is a bawn of soda, and a house in it, in which he dwelleth. He hath made no estates but from year to year; and all his tenants do plough by the tail.

§ Upon this there is a bawn of soda, and in it an castle, which is now built up, in which himself and family dwelleth. He hath made no estates to any of his tenants, and they do all plough by the tail.

|| Here is a bawn of soda, and in it a good Irish house, in which himself and family dwelleth.

4.—The Precinct of Loghtes, allotted to English Undertakers.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.		ORIGINAL PATENTEES.		PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.	
1	Aghleduff	Acres.	The O'Reillys.	2 } Sir R. Waldron, knight.	.. .. .	1	John Taylor.
2	Dromahilly	.. .. 1500		3 }		2	Thomas Waldron.
3	Dromahilly	.. .. 2000		4 } John Fiabe		5	Sir Hugh Worrall, knight.
4	Dromahilly	.. .. 2000					Pynnar says it is now
5	Monaghan	.. .. 1500					in Mr. Adwick's hands,
							though Sir Hugh hath it;
							but Pynnar is very dull.
							6 Sir Stephen Butler, knight.
6	Clonose	.. .. 2000					
	For the town of Bel-						
	turbet there were						
	allotted	.. .. 384					
	Lisreagh	.. .. 2000		7	Reinold Horne	7	Sir Geo. Mannerynge, knight.
	Lisreagh	.. .. 1500		8	William Snow	8	Peter Ameas.
	Tonagh	.. .. 1500					
	Total	.. 12,884					

this proportion there is a bawn of sods of two
 * Upon feet square, and four flankers; but much of it is
 hundred town. The castle or stone house is now finished, and
 fallen with his mother, Lady Waldron, with all their fa-
 himself dwelling in it. There is built a town consisting
 himself are one houses all inhabited with English.

of this proportion the bawn and castle is long since
 of this being very strong, and himself with his wife and
 himself dwelling therein. He hath also built two villages,
 himself of ten houses the piece, which are built of lime
 himself, and two good inholders.

† The castle and bawn are finished, being of great strength.
 He hath built two corn mills and one fulling mill. He is
 also able to arm two hundred men with very good arms,
 which are within his castle, besides others, which are dis-
 perced to his tenants for their safeguard.

§ In this town there are houses built of cage-work, all in-
 habited with British tenants, and most of these are trades-
 men; each of these having a house and garden plot, with
 four acres of land. Beiturbet a scoreably situated on the
 River Erne, and contains over 2000 inhabitants. It was
 founded by the Lanesborough family, and owes much to the
 patronage of that house.

5.—*The Precinct of Clonmahown, allotted to Servitors and Natives.*

DENOMINATIONS.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1 Carig * Acre. 2000	The O'Reillys.	1 Lord Lambert	1 Lord Lambert.
2 Tullacullen 1000		2 Capt. Lyons; Jos. Jones	2 Ditto.
3 1000		3 Lieut. Atkinson; Lieutenant Russell	3 Archibald Moore.
4 500		4 Captain Fleming	4 Captain Fleming.
5 Commet† 2000		5 Mul. Mac Hugh O'Reilly ..	5 Mul. Mac Hugh O'Reilly.
6 Wateragh 300		6 Philip Mac Tirlogh ..	6 Philip Mac Tirlogh
Total .. 6800			

* Upon this there is a large strong bawn, and a stone house, which is finished long since, being inhabited with an English gentleman, who is there resident with his family.

† Here is a strong house of lime and stone, forty feet long, twenty feet broad, and three stories high, and a bawn about it of soda. He hath made no estates.

6.—The Precinct of Tallagheconcho, allotted to Scotch Undertakers.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
Acres.		The O'Reillys.	1 } Sir Alexander Hamilton.	1 } Jane, widow to Claude
2 Clontine	.. .. 2000		2 }	2 } Hamilton.
3 Clomny	.. .. 1000		3 Sir Claude Hamilton.	3 The aforesaid Jane, Claude's
4 Drumhedagh	.. .. 2000		4 } Alexander and John	4 } widow.
5 Kelagh				
6 Carrowdownan	.. .. 1000		5 } Aughmoote.	5 } Sir James Craig, knight.
		6 John Browne.	6 Archibald Acheson.	
Total .. 6000				

* Here is no castle built; but there is a town consisting of twenty-two houses; but the inhabitants have no estates as yet; for she alledged she cannot make them any, her son being under age; but hereafter they shall; and in the

mean time there are ten of the principal of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy. Each of these has a house and garden plot, with four acres of land and commons for some cows.

7.—The Precinct of Tullaghehagh, allotted to Servitors and Natives.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1 Ballyconnell	Acres. 1500	The O'Reillys.	1 Captain Culme	1 Captain Culme and Walter Talbot.
2 ..			2 Sir R. Grimes	2 Sir Richard and Sir Geo. Grimes, knights.
3 ..			3 William Parsons	3 William Parsons.
4 ..			4 One Maguaran, "a native"	4 Maguaran.
Total	.. 5500			

1	Carowheen, or Belford's	2000			
	f. e., this denomination and some others, "In a remote place, and out of all good way."				
	Aghalane	1000			
	Dristernan	1000			
	Kilspennant	1500			
	Leytrim	1500			
	Derryanye	1000			
	Total	9000			

two stories high. This is of good stone and lime, strongly built; the roof is ready framed, and shall presently be set up. Near this castle there is a house, in which Sir James and his family are now dwelling; and adjoining to this there is a town, consisting of forty houses of timber work and mud wall. All these are inhabited with British tenants.

† Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone, being sixty feet square, twelve feet high, with two flankers. Within the bawn there is a house of lime and stone. I find planted and estated upon this land of British tenants, twelve families. These twelve families, consisting of fifteen men, do dwell dispersedly here; not one freeholder, but many Irish.

* Sir James Belford, knight, hath a thousand acres called alias Belford. He hath begun his building at Carrowleshee, and hath laid the foundation of a bawn of lime seventy feet square. There is also a castle of the Castle-stone of the which the one half is built two stories high, three stories and a half high. There are great numbers of men at work, which are bound to finish it speedily. There is also a plot laid out for a church, which must be seventy-five feet long, and seventy-five feet broad, all which is now in hand, and professedly finished this summer. There is also a school, now sixty-four feet long, twenty feet broad, and

2.—*The Precinct of Clancally, or Clankellie, allotted to English Undertakers.*

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1	Latgar*	Acre.		
2	Larlak	.. .. 1000	1 John Sedborrow	1 John Sedborrow.
3	Clancarnet	.. .. 1000	2 Thomas Flowerdew.	2 Thomas Flowerdew.
			3 Robert Boges, of Braham, in Brancham, County of Suffolk	3 Edward Hatton.
4	Ardmagh†	.. .. 1000	4 Thomas Plomstead	4 Sir Hugh Worrall, knight.
5	Gutgoonan	.. .. 1000	5 Robert Calvert	5 George Ridgeway.
		5000		

* Upon this proportion there is a most poor bawn of soda, being of a round form, and much of it is fallen down. There is nobody dwelling in it. I saw it a pound for cattle.

† Upon this proportion there is an excellent strong house of lime and stone, and well seated for the strength of the county. He hath a service, and within half a mile he hath a corn by his house, and six more are very good timber houses, and six more are standeth on the common road in the building.

country. Himself is a minister, and a good teacher of the Word of God.

‡ Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone, sixty-six feet square, with two flankers, and a little stone house or tower within it, standing waste. He hath no freeholder nor leaseholder, and but three poor men on the land, which have no estates; for all the land at this time is inhabited with Irish.

	<i>Acres.</i>		
1 Lisgoweley*	.. .. 1500	1 Sir John Davies	.. ..
2 Gurtin	.. .. 500	2 Captain Harrison	.. ..
3 Moycrune	.. .. 300	3 Peter Moystion	.. ..
Total	.. .. 2300		

The Mac Guire's.

* Upon the abbey lands there is built a fair stone house, but no bawn, and on this proportion there is not anything built. The Attorney-General had some pertinent reasons for convincing his master that the Plantation was a duty of conscience. Sir John Davies was of ignoble descent, but was a remarkable man. He was third son of John Davies of Tisbury, in Wiltshire, and went early to the law. At the Inns of Court he was a bully, for he bestinadoed Richard of the Inns at dinner in Temple Hall, for which he was expelled; the Inn at he turned poet, and wrote twenty acroeticks on the March Elizabeth. In 1601 he was sent to Parliament, as he acted with spirit and independence, and became the name of Cecil, Bacon, and Kilsnere. He was then sent to his Inn. On Elizabeth's death he posted to meet James, who embraced him as "a man of the town," and, in 1603, appointed him Attorney-General for Ireland. Here he went circuit, and gained in practice, by which he accumulated a large fortune. He was a great pleasure, daughter of Lord Audley, with whom he did

not enjoy much domestic ease. His son died early; and his daughter Lucy married Ferdinando Hastings, thus bringing his blood and fortune into the family of Huntingdon. He was chosen by the County of Fermanagh its first representative, and was elected Speaker, in the memorable struggle for that dignity which took place in the parliament of 1612-13. This was his last Irish service. He returned to England, engaged in great practice, often went Judge of Assize, and sat for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1620. It is strange that Sir John insisted, in the Parliament of England, that they could not bind Ireland, "for they have a parliament of their own." Sir Edward Coke admitted that proposition; Grattan afterwards established it. Davies also opposed the bill to prevent the importation of Irish cattle into England. He died of apoplexy on the 26th of December, 1626, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He was buried in St. Martin's in the Fields, and a monument recorded his services.—*Life of Davies, prefixed to his Works.*

4.—Precinct of Lurge, and Coolemackernan, allotted to English Undertakers.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.		ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
	<i>Acres.</i>				
1 Drumynashin	1000	The Mac Guirea.	1 Thomas Barton	..	1 } Sir Gerard Lowther, knight.
2 Necarne*	1000		2 Harrington Sutton	..	2 }
3 Tullana†	1000		3 John Archdale, Esq.	..	3 John Archdale, Esq.
4 Roseguire	1000		4 Thomas Flowerdew	..	4 Thomas Flowerdew.
5 Dowrosset	1000		5 Henry Hunings	..	5 Edw. Sibthorp and Henry Flower, Esqrs.
6 Edernagh§	1500		6 Thomas Blennerhassett	..	6 Thomas Blennerhassett.
7 Talmackein||	1000		7 John Thurston	..	7 Sir E. & T. Blennerhassett.
8 Bannaghmore¶	1500		8 Sir Edw. Blennerhassett	..	8 Francis, son to Sir Edward Blennerhassett.
Total	9000				

* Sir Gerard Lowther hath upon Necarne a strong bawn of lime and stone, and a house in it, and near unto the bawn there is a village consisting of ten houses, and a market there is also a water mill.

† Upon flankers, fifteen feet high; in each corner there with the lodging slated, with a house in the bawn of eighty with good and three stories high, with a battlement about is a house, and his family are there resident. He hath also five villages, and in two several places of his land he hath a water mill, and in two several places of his land he hath a water mill, consisting of eight houses a piece.

§ Upon this proportion there is built a bawn of lime and stone, two feet square, with two flankers; there is no house made upon this proportion, waste, and is now a pound for cattle.

|| Upon this proportion there is built a bawn of lime and stone, but the bawn there is built a village, in which there are houses inhabited with English families; but 1

in 11: 20

saw not their estates; for the Undertakers were out of the country, and none to bring them together.

§ Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone. He hath begun a church. He hath also a small village consisting of six houses built of cagework, inhabited with English. This is the small village of Ederny, the property of the Rev. Mr. West.

|| Upon this proportion there is nothing at all built, and all the land inhabited with Irish.

¶ Upon this proportion there is a strong bawn of lime and stone. There are divers leaseholders which I saw not; for the Undertaker was in England, and I came suddenly upon them. But by a jury I found the land to have twenty-two British families upon it, which with their Undertakers were able to make forty men, and store of arms in his house, and I saw not one Irish family upon all the land. This was a very praiseworthy piece of colonization.

5.—*Precinct of Coole, and Terkenwada, allotted to Servitors and Natives.*

DISTRIBUTION.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTERS.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1	Comegrada	Acres.	1 Rodolphus Gore	1 Sir William Cole.
2	Newporton*	.. .. 1000	2 Sir Henry Folliott, knight,	2 Sir Henry Folliott, knight.
		.. .. 1500	afterwards Lord Folliott	
3	Carick	.. .. 1000	3 Rodolphus Gore	3 Captain Paul Gore.
4	Coole	.. .. 1000	4 Capt. R. Atkinson.	4 Captain Roger Atkinson.
5	Clabbyt	.. .. 1500	5 Con Mac Shane O'Neill,	5 Con Mac Shane O'Neill.
			(Patent Roll, 23 Chas. I.)	
6	Tempodesselt†	.. .. 2000	6 Brian Maguire.	6 Brian Maguire.
		8400		

* Upon this proportion there is a strong bawn of lime and stone, one hundred and fifty feet long, one hundred and one wide, and twelve feet high, with three flankers; twenty feet bawn there is a strong house of lime and stone within the high, himself with his Lady and family dwelling in it. Near unto this bawn he hath made a Town consisting of eleven houses, all inhabited with Scottish and three of families. He hath also a water mill for corn.

† Upon this proportion he hath made a little bawn of soda, and a house within it of lime and stone, very strongly built. He hath made three lease-holders, which have each of them sixty acres for twenty one years; but all his tenants do plough after the Irish manner.

‡ Upon this proportion there is a large bawn of soda, and a good house of lime and stone. He hath made five lease-holders, which have each of them sixty acres for twenty-one years, and all his tenants do plough after the Irish manner.

8.—*The Precinct of Macheroboy, allotted to Scotch Undertakers.*

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTERS.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1	Dromakeagh *	<i>Acres.</i> .. 1000	1 Jeremy Lyndsey ..	1 Sir William Cole.
2	Derrinefoghert	.. 1500	2 Sir Robert Hamilton ..	2 Malcolme Hamilton.
3	Drunnagh	.. 1000	3 James Gill ..	3 John Archdale.
4	Dromcoet	.. 1000	4 Alexander Humes ..	4 George Humes.
5	Moyglasse	.. 1500	5 William Fuller ..	5 Sir John Humes.
6	Drumcro	.. 1000		6 John Dunbar, Esq.
7	Carrynroes	.. 2000		7 Sir John Humes.
		.. 9000		
			The Mac Guirea.	

Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone sixteen feet square, thirteen feet high, with four flankers, and a stone house or castle three stories high, strongly wind-mill. He hath also an excellent wind-mill.

§ Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone, an hundred feet square, fourteen feet high, having four flankers for the Defence. There is also a fair strong castle fifty feet long, and twenty-one feet broad. He hath made a village near unto the bawn, in which is dwelling twenty-four families. I find planted and catted on this land of British natives:—Freeholders 4, viz.—2 having 120 acres the piece; 2 having 100 acres the piece.—Lessees for years 9, viz.—1 having 240 acres; 1 having 120 acres; 6 having 80 acres the piece; 1 having 40 acres.—Cottagers 11.—1 having 30 acres; 2 having 6 acres the piece; 1 having 5 acres; 2 having 4 acres the piece; 1 having 3 acres; 4 having 2 acres the piece. Total twenty-four families, are all resident on the land, and most of them have taken the Oath of Supremacy, being able to make thirty men with arms.

1 The Rosses*	2000	1 Lady Brombe ..	..	1 Captain Thomas Dutton.
2 Cargiet ..	1000	2 Sir Patrick M'Kay ..	..	2 John Murray.
3 Foilagh O'utra†	1000	3 Patrick Vaux ..	..	3 Ditto.
4 Unconnally ..	1500	4 William Stewart ..	..	4 John Murray, & under him, Jas. Toddle & others, for years
5 Kilkeran§	1000	5 Alexander Dunbar ..	..	5 John Murray, & under him, to Richd. Cogwell, for years
6 Ballagheitra||	1000	6 Lady Broughton. In the	..	6 John Murray.
7 Moynagan¶	1000	patent roll this is given	..	7 Alexander Cunningham, under John Murray.
8 Mullaghavagh**	1000	to George Murray de	..	8 James M'Culloch.
Acres		Broughton.		

The County of Donegal belonged to the noble house of O'Donnell. The secondary chiefs were O'logherty, Mac Sweeney Doe, Mac Sweeney Fanaid, O'Galagher, and O'Clery.

Acres

Thomas Dutton hath 2000 acres, called the Captain but newly came unto it, and hath not his assistance from Mr. Murray. Upon this proportion there is a small castle himself, wife and family dwelling and six English families.

Upon this proportion there is a bawn of clay and stone, and twelve feet high, and built upon a square, and there is not upon square planted on this land, but there is not a foot of land; and they who are upon the land have no other holding in number twenty-three families, able to make a dwelling in British birth, dwelling dispersedly in the country. Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone, twelve feet high, with two flankers; there are not any free-

holders; there are twenty-eight families of the British nation, able to make fifty men with arms; these hold their land but by promise; I saw but few of them; for they dwell far asunder. Upon this there is a bawn and a castle of lime and stone. There is not one freeholder, and but two leaseholders that could shew any assurance; the one hath a lease for fifteen, the other for five years. There are many Irish.

Upon this proportion there is nothing at all built, and all the land is inhabited with Irish.

Upon this there is a good strong bawn of lime and stone, with two flankers. It hath very few British tenants, but a great many of the Irish, which dwell upon the land.

Upon this there is neither bawn nor castle, and very few British on the land; for the most part is inhabited with Irish.

2.—Precinct of Portlough, allotted to Scotch Undertakers.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.		ORIGINAL PATENTEES.		PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.	
1	Dunboy*	Acres.					
2	Moyegh	.. ..	1000	1	John Cunningham	.. ..	1 John Cunningham, gent.
3	Decastrose and Portlough†	.. ..	1000				2 James Cunningham, gent.
4	Dromagh, alias Coolemacreene	.. ..	2000	3	James Cunningham	.. ..	3 Sir James Cunningham.
		.. ..	1000	4	" Sir James Cunningham must answer for this."		4 Cuthbert Cunningham.
5	Coolelaghie	.. ..	1000	5	Wm. Stewart	.. ..	5 Wm. Stewart, Laird of Dunduff.
6	Ballyneagh	.. ..	1000	6	A. M'Awley	.. ..	6 Alexander M'Awley, alias Stewart.
7	Corragh, Ketin, and Cashell	.. ..	3000	7	The Laird of Lusse	.. ..	7 The Laird of Lusse.
8	Lisnargan	.. ..	1000	8	Sir J. Stewart	.. ..	8 Sir John Stewart, kn't.
9	Lismacdonogan	.. ..	1000	9	Ditto	.. ..	9 Sir John Stewart, aforesaid.
Total		..	12000				

There is a bawn of lime and stone, and good upon this a good house in the bawn, in which himself, his wife, and children, consisting of twenty-six houses, and a good mill, which is inhabited with British tenants. There is no more built than there was years past; which was a little bawn of lime and water-mill, in which the lady and her small house in it, in which the lady and her now dwell. There is good store of tillage, and that I saw.

† Upon this proportion there is a bawn of clay and stone sixty feet square, and a house within it, which is thatched.

§ Upon this proportion there is built at Magevelin a very strong castle of lime and stone, with a flanker at each corner; but as yet there is no bawn nor freeholders made; and for want of them he saith the Duke of Lennox shall answer the King. But I saw the land well inhabited, and full of people; but what estates they have I know not, neither would he call the tenants together, but shewed me a counterpart of one lease, and said that each of the tenants had the like.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.		ORIGINAL PATENTEES.		PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1610.	
1	Shrambletler	Acres.	The O'Donnella.	3	Sir Thomas Cornwall	1	Peter Benson.
2	Aghagalla	1500				2	William Wilson, Esq.
3	Corleakin	2000				3	Thomas Davis holds of his brother Robert.
4	Killenaguerdon	1000		5	Captain Russell	4	Captain Mansfield.
5	Acarine	1500		6	Sir Robert Remington	5	Sir John Kingemill, knt.
6	Tonafect	2000		7	Sir Maurice Bartley	6	Sir Ralph Bingley.
7	Drummore and Lurgagh	2000				7	Ditto.
8	Lisnongran	1500		8	Sir T. Coach	8	Sir Thomas Coach, knt.
9	Monaster	1500		9	Sir William Barnas	9	Sir John Kingemill and Mr. Wilson.
Total		15,000					

* Upon this proportion there is a large bawn and a castle standing on a high mount. He hath made a village consisting of ten houses well built.

† Upon three stories high is ready to be slated, himself stone his family there dwelling; and near to this place he hath made a village consisting of nine houses, and standing with passage very commodious for the King's service and hath passage of the country.

‡ Upon this proportion there is built a strong castle, with on a good towers; it is now three stories high, the roof is the upon all standeth at a stay through the controversy between him and Sir Robert Remington's heirs. framed between him and Sir Robert Remington's heirs.

§ Upon this proportion the bawn, being of brick, and the house of stone, are now thoroughly finished, and himself and family dwelling therein. He hath made a village in which there are six houses, and a mill already built, and there is more in building, in a place which is a continual passage.

|| Upon this proportion he hath a trench cast up with a hedge upon it, invironed with a small brook, in which there is a house of cage-work, wherein himself with his lady and family are dwelling. The place is very convenient for the King's service, and the good of the country. He hath six good houses near unto him, inhabited with English families; and this had long since been done, but that he was grievously troubled with sickness.

4.—The Precinct of Kilmacrenan, allotted to Servitors and Natives.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.		ORIGINAL PATENTEES.		PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.	
1	Letterkenny*	Acres.					
2	Balamally†	1000		1 Captain Craford		1 Sir George Marburie.	
3	Gortavaghiet	1000		2 Sir J. Kingmill	..	2 Sir John Kingmill.	
4	Edonecarne	1000		3 Sir W. Stewart	..	3 Sir William Stewart.	
5	Radedonell	1000		4 Sir B. Brooke	..	4 Sir Basil Brooke.	
6	Carnegill	1000		5 Sir T. Chichester	..	5 Sir Thomas Chichester.	
7	Moyris	1000		6 Sir John Vaughan	..	6 John Wray, Esq.	
8	Ballenas	1000				7 Arthur Terrie.	
9	Ramaltom‡	1000		9 Sir Richard Hansard	..	8 Captain Henry Harle.	
10		1000				9 Sir William Stewart.	
11		1000				10 Sir John Vaughan.	
		11,000				11 Captain Paul Gore.	

Carried forward

Upon this there is built a bawn of lime and stone sixty feet square, with two flankers twelve feet high. Near adjoining market town, and standeth well for the King's service. Here is a bawn built of stone and clay, and standeth great Here is not one English man on the land. Here is a bawn of stone and clay, rough-cast over with waste, and is a foot long, seventy feet broad, and fourteen feet high. Here is a bawn of stone within it, which is inhabited with eight stone house within it, which is inhabited with nine, a gentleman and his family. Here is a bawn of stone and strong bawn eighty feet high, with four flankers, and a fair bawn sixteen feet high, with four flankers, and a fair bawn of the same materials, being three stories and a half high. He hath made a large town consisting of a square. He hath made a large town consisting of a square.

forty-five houses, in which there are fifty-seven families all British. He hath also begun a church of lime and stone. There is also a water-mill for corn. This is a market town, and standeth very well for the good of the country, and the King's service. Sir William Stewart, Knight, was a favourite of James, and was created one of the new order of Barons in 1628. He built Ramelton, which stands on the Lennan as it flows into Lough Foyle. It enjoys at present a flourishing linen manufacture, having a bleach-green and manufactory. On the shore of Lough Swilly is the residence of Sir James Stewart, and to the north-east is Fort Stewart, built by the original occupier. In the river Lennan pearls have been found. The population is near two thousand.

		The O'Donnells.	
			Acres.
<i>brought forward</i>			11,000
12 Fackler ..	12 Lieutenant Perkins ..		172
13 Loughnemuck ..	13 Lieutenant Ellis ..		400
14 Cranrass ..	14 Lieutenant Browne ..		528
15 Carreagh ..	15 } Lieutenant Gale ..		108
16 Lurguarack ..	16 } ..		240
17 Castledoe ..	17 Sir Richard Bingley ..		500
18 Mountmellon* ..	18 Sir Mulmorie Mac Swyne ..		2000
19 Leanagh and Corraght ..	19 Mac Swyne Bannagh ..		2000
20 Carogbleagh and Glomast ..	20 Tirlough Roe O'Boyle ..		2000
21 Rolindoberg and Carrocomony† ..	21 Donnell Mac Swyne Farne		2000
22 Bellicanny and Raght ..	22 Walter Mac Loughlin Mac Swyne.		896
Total ..			21,844

* He hath made no estates to any of his tenants, and doth plough after the Irish manner.

† *He hath made no estates; for his tenants will have as plough as they but from year to year.* It is remarkable that the longer proprietors have, generally speaking, created no permanent interests under them. And in this instance, the Irish themselves declined a long tenure.

He hath built a good bawn, and a house of lime and stone. He hath made no estates, and all his tenants do after the Irish manner.

He hath made no estates; for his tenants will have as plough as they but from year to year.

§ His tenants have no estates, but from three years to three years, and these do plough after the Irish manner.

¶ He hath built a good strong house, of lime and stone, being a Justice of the Peace in the county, and conformable to his Majesty's laws, serving the King and country upon all occasions, and one that hath ever been a true subject since the first taking in of Loughfoyle. His loyalty dates from the landing of Sir Henry Downra at Culmore Fort in 1600. There are turns in loyalty and patriotism, which wise men like Walter Mac Swyne know how to take.

DENOMINATIONS.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1611.
<div>Acres.</div> <div>1 Faugh and Rarone* 3000</div> <div>2 Brede 2000</div> <div>3 Pentonagh 2000</div> <div>4 Edergoole and Car-neurachant .. 2000</div> <div>5 Gavelagh, and Clo-naghmore, alias Castle Dirge, and Castle Curlew .. 2000</div> <div>11,000</div>	The O'Nealla.	<div>1 Earl of Castlehaven, ..</div> <div>2 Ditto</div> <div>3 Ditto</div> <div>4 Ditto</div> <div>5 Sir John Davies, knt. ..</div>	<div>1 The Countess's jointure.</div> <div>2 Earl Castlehaven.</div> <div>3 Ditto.</div> <div>4 Ditto.</div> <div>5 Sir John Davies, knt.</div>

* I find planted upon this land some few English families, but they (as they tell me) cannot have their leases made tenants to them, unless they will give treble the rent which was paid; and yet they must but have half the land which good land; in the late Earl's time. they sold this there was a large house begun, but now it is pulled down, and made but half so great, being three stories high and finished. The agent for the Earl showed me the rent

roll of all the tenants that are on these three proportions; but their estates are so weak and uncertain, that they are all leaving the land. These were in number sixty-four, and each of these hold sixty acres, which they term a town-land. The rest of the land is let to twenty Irish gentlemen, as appeareth by the rent-roll, which is contrary to the Articles of Plantation; and these Irish gentlemen have under them, as I was informed by the tenants and gentlemen in the country, about three thousand souls of all sorts.

3.—The Precinct of Clogher, allotted to English Undertakers.

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
	Acre.			
1 Portlaine and Bally-killigrie	2000	The O'Neills.	1 Lord Ridgeway	1 Lord Ridgeway.
2 Thomas Court ..	1000		2 George Ridgeway	2 George Ridgeway, gent.
3 Moyener and Bally-galin *	1000		3 William Turvin	3 Sir Gerrard Lowther, knt.
4 Longhmaguire ..	1500		4 Captain Edney	4 Lord Burleigh.
5 Fentonagh	2000		5 Sir Francis Willoughby ..	5 John Leigh, Esq.
6 Balleneocle and Ballennally†	2000		6 Edward Kingsmill	6 Sir William Stewart, knt.
7 Derribard†	1000		7 Sir Anthony Cope	7 Sir William Cope.
8 Balleneoclogh ..	1000		8 William Parsons, Esq.	8 William Parsons, Esq.
Total ..	12,500			

* This is let to one Mr. Pringle, who is dwelling on the land in a poor cabin; but what tenants he hath I know not; and he refused to show them unto me; but he brought after for he list of just twenty tenants; but I know not whether for he list any estates; for the list doth not make any mention of what they hold. As I passed over the land I saw di- they what thing; and this is all I can say of him.

† Upon this there is a bawn of clay and stone pointed with lime, being eighty feet square, with two flankers, and a little house within it uncovered, all lying waste, and not any one Englishman at all dwelling on the land, but all in- habited with Irish.

forty feet in length, and an hundred and twenty feet in breadth, with four flankers, being of clay and stone. He hath made a village, where are now nine houses, and more are in building. There is good store of tillage, and all the Irish put from the land.

† Upon this there is a bawn of clay and stone pointed with lime, being eighty feet square, with two flankers, and a little house within it uncovered, all lying waste, and not any one Englishman at all dwelling on the land, but all in- habited with Irish.

He is making a bawn two hundred and

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1610.
1 O'Caraghan	Acres. .. 1800	The O'Neill's.	4 Robert Lindsey†	1 Sir Robert Heyburne.
2 Revelnourta and Eightra*	.. .. 3500			2 Lord Uchiltree.
3 Tullylegan	.. . 1500			3 Captain Saunderson.
4 Tulleage†	.. .. 1000			4 Mrs. Lyndsey, widow of Robert.
5 Creighballe	.. .. 1000	The O'Neill's.	5 Richard Lindsey	5 Alexander Richardson.
6 Ballenekenan	.. .. 1000		6 Robert Stewart	6 Andrew Stewart, son of Lord Uchiltree.
7 Gortevill	.. .. 1000			7 David Kennedy.
Total	.. .. 10,800			

There is no more done now than was at the last survey; there is thatched, and the lord absent. Near unto the castle there are a great many poor Irish houses inhabited by the Irish families.

† Upon this there is a good strong bawn of earth, with a quick-set hedge upon it, and a ditch about it. There is a timber house within it, in which she and her family dwell.

5.—The Precinct of Dungannon, allotted to Servitors and Natives.

DENOMINATIONS.	ACRES.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTERS.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION.
1 Dungannon*	1140	The O'Neills.	1 Lord Chichester, the	1 Lord Chichester, the Lord
2 For Dungannon Town	500		Lord Deputy ..	Deputy.
3 Large ..	2000		2 Lord Ridgeway ..	2 Lord Ridgeway.
4 Ballidonnell†	1000		3 Sir Toby Caulfield ..	3 Sir Toby Caulfield.
5 Manor Roe ..	1000		4 Sir Francis Roe ..	4 Sir Francis Roe.
6 Alte Desert ..	1000		5 William Parsons ..	5 William Parsons.
7 Claneagrie ..	480		6 Sir Francis Anslay ..	6 Sir Francis Anslay.
8 Benburb‡	2000		7 Marshal Wingfield ..	7 Marshal Wingfield.
.. ..	4000		8 Tirlough O'Neill ..	8 Tirlough O'Neill.
	13,120			

* Upon this there are now built nine fair stone houses. Also six strong timber houses built of good cage-work. There is also a church, with a steeple. Besides these British tenants within the town, there are thirty-six Irish, which come to the Sir Toby Caulfield hath one thousand acres, called Ballidonnell, whereunto is added, beside what was certified by Sir James Rodley, a fair house or castle, the front whereof is fifty and four at the top, very good cellars under ground, and all over the river, which is of lime and stone. And there is a good water-mill for corn, all built of lime and stone. Near unto this bawn there is built a town in

is a church in building, with large windows. There are also twenty English families dwelling on the lands, which are able to make thirty men with arms. Benburb (Beinnburb, the "hill brow") is only a village, but it is not without its associations. In 1697, Lord Deputy De Burgh crossed the Blackwater at Benburb, at the head of his forces, and meeting Tyrowen and Tyrconnell in battle, his army was defeated, and he was mortally wounded. The Earl of Kildare died of his wounds. Marshal Bagnall marched to attack O'Neill's camp, with 5000 men, but was defeated and slain. Wingfield, the patentee, built a castle here, but Sir Phelim O'Neill captured it in 1641, and slew the garrison. Sir Phelim beat 6,900 British forces here, killed Lord Blaney and 2,000 English and Scotch.

APPORTIONATIONS.	ACRES.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTERS.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1819.
1 Doughtycouran ..	1500		William Brownlow ..	1 William Brownlow
2 Ballenemoney ..	1000		Ditto ..	2 Ditto
3 Kernan ..	1000		Sir Oliver St. John ..	3 Sir Oliver St. John
4 Ballinvaran ..	2000		Wm. Powell ..	4 Mr. Obbyns
5 Derrycravyt ..	3000	Armagh belonged to the O'Neills of the Fews, the Clanbreasal O'Neills, and the O'Hanlons.	Lord Say ..	5 Mr. Cope
6 Dromully ..	1000		Richard Rouletstone ..	6 Richard Rouletstone
7 Senore ..	2000		John Heron ..	7 John Heron
8 Aghtvillan & Brochus ..	1500		William Stanbowe ..	8 William Stanbowe
9 Kennascoolant ..	2000		Francis Secheverill ..	9 Francis Secheverill
10 Mullaleish and Leg- gerary ..	1500		John Dillon ..	10 John Dillon
11 Mullabane ..	1500			11 John Dillon
Total ..	16,500			

and in three of them he hath built very good lodgings, which are three stories high. There are also two water-mills and one wind-mill; and near to the bawn he hath built fourteen houses of timber, which are inhabited with English families. ‡ Here is nothing at all built; himself is in England, and hath been there these seven years. There are not above three or four poor Englishmen upon the land. All the land is inhabited with Irish.

§ Upon this proportion there is a house begun some three years since, but is not half finished, being of brick and lime, and a very fair building. There is no bawn. He hath a great store of tenants, the which have made two villages, and dwell together.

a Upon the proportion of Ballenemony there is a strong stone wall, within a good island; and at Loughcouran there is a house, house of stone and brick, with good lime, and hath very fair bawn of timber and earth, with a pallazado about it. These are now laid in readiness both lime and stone to a strong place, where the which is promised to be done this year. There is a bawn thereof, the which is made by the stones of the town, consisting of a great many houses, all which are inhabited with English families. The streets all paved clean through; also two water-mills, and a wind-mill, all for corn, and he hath store of arms and provisions.

The bawn
the hills
this there is a bawn of lime and stone an hundred
feet square, fourteen feet high, with four flankers,
in the middle

2.—*The Precinct of the Fews, allotted to Scotch Undertakers.*

DENOMINATIONS.		ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
	<i>Acres.</i>			
1 Coolemalish *	1000	The O'Neill, &c.	1 Henry Acheson..	1 Henry Acheson.
2 Magharientrim	1000		2 James Craig ..	2 John Hamilton, Esq.
3 Kilruddan	1000		3 William Lawlers	3 Ditto.
4 Edenagh	500		4 John Hamilton ..	4 Ditto.
5 Claneary †	2000		5 Sir James Dowglass	5 Archibald Acheson.
Total	5500			

* There is upon this a bawn of clay and stone, being an hundred and twenty feet long, and eighty feet broad, an hundred flanks. In this bawn there is a house, the one-
 † Upon this there is a bawn of stone and lime, being an hundred feet long, eighty feet broad, and ten feet high, with four flankers two stories high, and thirteen feet wide, with-
 in the walls, which serve for good lodgings. There is also a castle begun, which is eighty feet in length, twenty-two feet wide, and is now two stories high. There are near to the bawn seven houses inhabited with British tenants. He hath

These are able to make thirty men with arms. Here is great store of tillage.

These are able to make thirty men with arms. Here is great store of tillage.

DENOMINATIONS.	ATTAINED PROPRIETORS.	ORIGINAL PATENTEES.	PARTIES IN POSSESSION 1619.
1 Cornechino * Acres. 500	The O'Nells, &c.	1 Sir John Davies, knt. ..	1 Sir John Davies, knt.
2 Ballenmoore 1500		2 Sir Oliver St. John ..	2 Sir Oliver St. John.
3 Ballenmorehan .. 1000		3 Lord Molre	3 Lord Molre.
4 Claire 2000		4 Henry Bouchier	4 Henry Bouchier, afterwards Earl of Bath.
5 1000		5 Capt. Anthony Smith ..	5 Capt. Anthony Smith.
6 Curliator 200		6 Lieutenant Poyms	6 Lieutenant Poyms]
7 Camloght† 1000		7 Henry M'Shane O'Neill ..	7 Sir Toby Caulfield.
Total 7200			

† Upon this there is nothing at all built, nor so much as an English tenant on the land.—What! one of the authors of the Plantation, and not a Briton on his land, so well as yet there is nothing built.

LONDONDERRY, COUNTY AND CITY.

[This County and City Plantation is the subject of the next Chapter to which the reader is referred.]

In the preceding table, the greatest gainer by the Ulster Plantation appears only in connection with one grant; but Sir Arthur Chichester, the founder of the Donegal family, deserves a separate and peculiar mention. He was a greedy Puritan, bent upon extinguishing the Catholics of Ireland, and of accumulating an enormous fortune by their plunder. In the latter design he was very successful. On the 30th June, 1609, James wrote to him, "That having approved of a project for distributing of *his lands* (namely, the six counties) in Ulster, which he was resolved not to alter in point of substance for favour or merit of any particular person, yet having consideration for his extraordinary desert, his majesty was pleased to grant him and his heirs and assigns the entire territory or country of Inishowen," with Culmore Castle for life. Attached to this magnificent grant, was a power to hold four Courts Leet in the island of Inche, the territories of Tuoghconcrine, Tuagh Clagh, the manor of Greencastle, and the island of Malin. Various privileges of tolls, markets, and fairs were added. On the 14th January, 1610, he had a grant of the Castle of Dungannon and 1300 acres of land escheated within its precinct. He built a palace at Carrickfergus, which he called Joymount, from his friend and patron, the politic, warlike, and sentimental Mountjoy.*

Whatever was the original design of the Plantation, and whatever was its policy, it is clear that

* They say that Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, died of love. It was a whimsical end for so profound a politician and so bloody a soldier.

there was no banishment of the natives from the soil of Ulster; the "Swordsmen,"* in other words

* The swordsmen were gallowglasses and kernes. The gallowglass wore a defensive coat studded with iron nails, a long sword was appended to his side, an iron head-piece secured his head, and in his hand he grasped a broad keen-edged battle axe. Another description of swordsmen were the kernes. These combatants fought with swords, skeans, and javelins to which thongs were fastened. *Sgean* (whence *skean*) means a sword."—*Stewart's Armagh*, p. 634, *App.* The introduction of defensive armour was modern. The following passage from Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," endeavouring to prove the Scythian descent of the Irish, gives a good account of the more ancient weapons.—"And first of their armes and weapons, amongst which their broad swordes are proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. And the same also the old Scots used, as you may read in Buchanan, and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the same forme expressed. Also their short bowes, and little quivers with short bearded arrowes, are very Scythian, as you may reade in the same Olaus. And the same sort both of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, at this day to bee scene commonly amongst the Northerne Irish-Scots, whose Scottish bowes are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hempe slackely bent, and whose arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with steele heads, made like common broad arrow heades, but much more sharpe and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely. Besides, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have beene used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together. with other circumstances, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythes originally, though sithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joyning unto them

the men able and accustomed to carry arms, were not sent to Connaught; nor were they excluded from the Plantation, with a purpose to root them out, as all the Irish nations had been rooted out, from the first Anglo Norman settlements; they were merely removed from the mountains and the woods to the plains and open country, that being removed "they might grow the milder, and bear a better and sweeter fruit."*

Sir John Davies, in one of those admirable essays which, whatever we may think of their morality, are amongst the most useful materials of Irish history, has given us a graphic account

There is a very singular mention of the *sgean* or *skean* in Carlyle's "Speeches and Letters of Cromwell." On the retreat from the fatal field of Naseby, "there were taken a good few ladies of quality in carriages, and above a hundred Irish ladies not of quality, tattered camp-followers with long *skean* knives about a foot in length which they well knew how to use; upon whom I fear the ordinance against the Papists pressed hard this day." Vol. 1, p. 214. In other words, the pious Parliamentarians and cut-throat rebels, about whom Mr. Carlyle has written his eloquent Book of Saints, hanged these women, and then gave thanks to the Lord for the crowing mercy. But it is not astonishing that these English killed a few hundred women, mere camp-followers, for another writer tell us that the barbarians slew several of the wives of officers of quality.—*Southey's Life of Cromwell*, p. 41; *Clarendon's Civil Wars*, Oxford ed. 1839, vol. 5, p. 176. These saints of Carlyle had certainly all the wisdom of the serpent, but they had the ferocity of the tiger. They were a blasphemous rabble rout, which no German ecstasies will ever turn to things admirable.

*Sir John Davies's "Hist. Tracts," p. 119. Sir John who got some pretty grants in the business says, in the pious illness of his heart, but rather profanely, "*omni plantatio quam non plantavit Pater meus, eradicabit*

of the great settlement. * He and Sir Oliver Lambert were the principal agents in effecting the division of the escheated lands, which they accomplished in a "perambulation" made through the North, with the Lord Deputy and the other Commissioners of Plantation, and the account of which Sir John communicated to his constant friend and patron, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in 1610.

They had four principal points to dispose of ; First, to assign the portions which were apportioned to the natives according to the qualities of the lands, and the deserts of the favoured parties ; Second, to distribute and apportion the lands set apart for the servitors ; Third, to publish by proclamation in each county the lands which were given to the English and Scotch Undertakers, to the servitors, and to the natives, *that the latter should remove from the precincts allotted to the English and Scotch, wherupon a clear Plantation was to be made of English and Scottish-men without any Irish*, and to settle upon the lands assigned to servitors and natives, where a mixed Plantation of English, Scotch, and Irish was to be made ; and Fourth, to give seizin† of their allotted shares to the British Undertakers, who had flocked in numbers to the scene of partition. All these duties they discharged, not without opposition from the people who were to be so unceremoniously thrust aside by the hungry tribe of Stewarts, Wingfields, Folliots, Hamiltons, Ankels, Smelhomes, Adwicks, Chichesters, and

* Letter to Robert Earl of Salisbury concerning the
of Ireland, 1610.

† A barbarous law word, signifying possession.

Butlers, who were there awaiting the unholy distribution.

For it appears that in Cavan, where the natives were near the Pale, and familiar, after a fashion, with points of law and incidents of title, they made a bold struggle to preserve their lands, and appealed directly to that perfidious promise—so often made, so often broken—that they should share the benefits of English law. They had learned to talk of a freehold and of estates of inheritance, (dangerous study for the “despairing Irishes,”) of which the bold Clansmen of Tyrconnell and Tyrowen, secure as they thought themselves in their hills and their vallies, their mountains and their river-sides, were proudly ignorant; and these poor Cavan lovers of justice had hired a lawyer of the Pale, to maintain, that they had estates of inheritance in their possessions, which their chiefs could not forfeit. Doubtless much sound law did this Solon of the Pale discourse, eloquent on tails, tail males, fee tails, and tails in remainder, and all the other jargon of Norman jurisprudence. He demanded to traverse the office which had been found of his client's lands, and he claimed the benefit of that proclamation in which the base Stuart promised to take the persons, estates and goods of his Irish subjects into his protection. But of what avail was all the argument? Robbery was its own judge. Lambert and Davies and Chichester, the Commissioners of Partition, and the rest of them, who had their deeds of grant in their pockets; English lawyers, the scourings of the Inns of Middle and Inner Temple; grasping speculators

soldiers of fortune, were to try a title as old as the Island itself: is it surprising that even the lawyer of the Pale* could do nothing for the clansmen of O'Reilly?

Sir John Davies, poet, philosopher, attorney-general, adroit and supple courtier, casuist without conscience or honor, undertaker, and servitor, replied. And his reply is a marvellous specimen of the logic of an attorney-general. He was rejoiced, good man, that occasion offered of declaring and setting forth his Majesty's most just title, as well for his Majesty's honor, who being the most just prince living, would not oppress the meanest of his subjects wrongfully, to gain many such kingdoms, *as for the satisfaction of the natives themselves* and of all the world.

His Majesty had a threefold title, and a right to dispose of the lands, "in law, conscience, and in honor." In law, he had a right, whether considering the matter with reference to the English law or the old Brehon jurisprudence. For, by the former, the sovereign is Lord Paramount of all land, of all the land in the kingdom, and all his subjects hold their possessions of him, mediate or immediate. That the captainship of O'Reilly being abolished, and the two chief lords elected by the country slain in rebellion, the king was entitled to enter upon their lands, without reference to the estates which the clansmen might have had. For of what nature could *these estates* have been? Either estates of in-

*I have not been able to discover the name of the advocate of the O'Reillys.

heritance, or estates not of inheritance. An estate not of inheritance they did not claim, or if they did, they should show the creation thereof, which they could not do ; and if they claimed an estate of inheritance, then estates ought to descend to a certain heir, which neither their chieftainships, nor their tenancies ever did. Therefore they had no estates of inheritance. The estate of their Tanists and Chieftains hath been adjudged (that is, good Sir John, by rascal lawyers who wanted to rob both) to be no estate in law, but only a transitory and "scambling possession." They never did, he continued to argue, conceive that their lawful heirs should inherit the land they possessed, which was manifest by two things : 1st, they never esteemed lawful matrimony,* to the end that they might have lawful heirs ; and 2nd, they never did build any houses, plant orchards, or gardens, nor take any care of their posterity. It followed that, if these men had estates in law, either in their chieftainships or in their tenancies, if his majesty who was Lord Paramount did seize upon and dispose of their lands, they could make no title against him or his patentees and consequently could not be admitted to traverse any office of their lands.

Much more to this effect, did the king's attorney speak to the astonished natives ; much more of such perfidious technical rhodomontade, well enough for the purlieus of Westminster or the bagnios of the Temple, or the corrupter atmos-

* This was only a repetition of the base lie of Cambrensis, and the other slanderers. The Irish did marry sometimes in the older time with some informality—but they always contracted marriage and were faithful.

of the chief city of the Pale, but marches to the meer Irish of the hill sides of the Pale. What then said he of the ancient constitution? he came to root out, and in its stead to institute "civility"? Was there no code of law, no chieftaincy, no gavelkind? Surrendering these, were these Cavan men not promised, the perfumed sacred word of Royalty, that should hold their hill sides without let, and hindrance? Yes; there was then one scruple to hinder him in this enterprize, viz.: whether the king could in conscience or honor remove the ancient tenants, and bring in strangers amongst them?

What said the mercenary knave? Why, truly his majesty might not only take this course lawfully, but was bound in conscience so to do. The immemorial unconverted spirit of English law, thou perfection of human reason, thou continuation of human goodness, was there ever a king thou wouldst not consecrate, or right thou wouldst not take away?

The King is Father of his people, said Sir John, the people and the land are committed by the sacred Majesty to his charge and government. He is therefore bound in conscience to use all lawful and just courses to reduce his people from barbarism to civility. Now civility could not be effected amongst them without a mixed plantation of civil men, which could not be effected without a plantation and removal of some of the natives, settling their possessions *in the course of the common law*! For if they were allowed to possess the country as their septs have for many

hundred years—ay, till curst Norman avarice brought their mailed beggars here—they would never, to the end of the world, build houses, make townships, or manure or improve the land as it ought to be; therefore it stands not with christian policy, nor conscience to let so good and fruitful a country to be waste like a wilderness, when his majesty may lawfully dispose of it to such persons as will make a civil Plantation thereupon.*

And so argued the Roman planting his ensigns on the shores of Britain; so argued the fanatic Isabella driving the Arab from the fields of Spain; so argued the bloody Cortes and the insatiable Pizarro as they gave a million Indians to their sword and cross; so argue even now the perfidious Frenchman in his razzias and his man-burnings—human enlightenment demands its victims—the march of civilization has been too often upon the crushed hearts, and plundered rights of man. “James, in this great misdeed, transplanted like a father not like a Lord or Monarch;” so says Sir John Davies. “The Romans transplanted whole nations out of Germany into France—the Spaniards lately† removed all the Moors out of Granada into Barbary, without providing them with new seats there. When the English Pale was settled the natives were all clearly expelled, and the Græmes were removed then from Scotland to Ireland without

* Sir John Davies's Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, A. D. 1610.

† The Conquest of Grenada was effected 1491; Philip the Second exterminated the Moorish race in Spain, 1568.

of land being allotted to them ; but these
of Cavan had lands assigned them usually
the same barony where they lived before, so
in this his Majesty did imitate the skilful
gardener who doth remove his fruit trees, not
for a purpose to extirpate and destroy them, but
that they might bring better and sweeter fruit
from the transplantation.”*

With these courtly reasonings and this lawyer
the natives were “not unsatisfied in reason,
though they remained in their passions discon-
tented, being much grieved to leave their posses-
sions to strangers which they had so long *after*
manner enjoyed.” But the Lord Deputy
pled threats with entreaty ; *precibusque*
is regaliter addit ; and the poor natives
in a way “like obedient and loyal subjects,” to
the Sheriff and the warrant of the Commissioners.
He so commenced this foul crusade. The peo-
ple of Ulster had looked to Cavan expectingly,
trusting with trembling confidence to right and
justice ; but seeing things so managed there, they
were broken to their fate, and with silent despair
submitted to the course prescribed by James for
Plantation. The lands were divided—and
proclamation duly made—the Undertakers pre-
pared the materials for their Castles and their
houses—the servitors took out their letters patent
with hot haste—the hapless owners of the
land moved from their ancient homes—the agents
from the incomparable city of London piled their
timber, their lime and stones, their iron and their

* Sir John Davies to Salisbury, p. 284.

other materials for their new city, and so busy were the workmen there and elsewhere about their several tasks as "methought I saw Dido's colony erecting Carthage," *

Instant ardentes Tyrii, pars ducere muros
Molirique arcem, et munibus subvolvere saxa
Pars optare locum tecto, et concludere sulco.

And now look at this Ulster before and after the Plantation. But first put away the original wrong from your thought—for a moment cease to think of all the crimes, all the deep injury, all the wondrous injustice, all the original sin of this mighty change, then thoughtfully mark the contrast. Before the Plantation—before Hugh O'Neill had hidden his great defeat and greater sorrows beneath an English coronet—from these Forests issued, and roamed over these Plains, a Free People, ruled by their own rude laws and institutions, adoring at their own altars, assembling round their own hearths, speaking the language racy of their soil and of their souls, loving, tender, vengeful, fierce, after the fashion their mother's milk had given them,—a people of the Land, her children, like the oaks they dwelt amongst, bursting from her bosom like the streams upon whose banks they fought and loved, and lived and died. They were rough and untutored; their laws which yet suited them were not as wise as human wisdom might devise; they tilled their lands rudely, yea, even with the tails of *their* beasts they yoked their ploughs; over their *wide* and green pastures roved their flocks, un-

* Sir John, iterum.

branded, the wandering wealth of pastoral clans ; fierce in fight, sensual and amorous, wild in mirth and gentle in love, a bold, brave race, they possessed the soil God gave their fathers ; they worked out in triumph or defeat the ends of human civilization, working unskilfully but with some progression, when this great Plantation met them in their way. Gradually but fearfully it came on with projects, plans, and laws, and arguments most eloquent of dispossession. The rich plains over which their fathers wandered, the fertile vallies where their fathers dwelt in many a rude ancestral village, the river sides of pleasant Derry, and the bold headlands of mountainous Donegal, all were swept away by gracious writ, by King's command, by projects of Plantation, by inquisition, by forfeitures, and by escheats, words dimly understood of fearful import. They retire before the tide, and now a new race succeeds, the spawn of bloody conquest. On every side arise the well flanked castle, with frowning tower and threatening battlement ; the mighty forest re-echoes with the ceaseless axe ; the sounds of busy labour are heard "from morn till dewy eve ;" towns and cities, fortresses and factories, are seen lifting their heads aloft ; the whole face of Nature and of things is changed. An ancient civilization, ancient laws, and ancient Faith are swept away ; new forms of life, new codes, new habits, and new men are planted in that ancient soil to bear what fruit they may.

May it be fruit of peace and honour to this distracted land !

CHAPTER VII.

How it happened that the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Tailors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothworkers of London became Irish Landlords—The Irish Society—The creation of Baronets.

DERRY was so called from *Doire*, an Irish word signifying "the place of oaks." It was also called Derry Calgach, "the oak-wood of Calgach," who, they say, is classicized by the pen of Tacitus into Galgacus. It was also known as "Derry Columbkille," from the saint's name who founded an abbey there. The distinctive epithets were afterwards thrown aside, and for a while it bore its own simple name, until a new and more monstrous transformation converted it into Londonderry.*

How this came to pass, and how, on the ancient Hill of Oaks, sacred to Pagan superstition

* Yet there is some propriety in the name, for London, like Derry, is traceable to a Celtic or rather a Scythic origin, and seems as correctly to describe the modern Derry as *Doire* did the ancient. London is by some interpreted as "the town of ships," or the "fortified town," but the Celtic compound which means a "strong fortress," (*Lonn-dun*.) is the true origin of the name. Any of these derivations will suit the present Derry; and it is singular that a little way up the river is an ancient fortress with a similar name, (*Dun-na-long*) "the fortress of ships."—*Ordnance Memoir*, p. 17.

and Christian holiness, a new order of lay monks founded their establishments, their temples, and their priesthood, we are now to be informed.

After many revolutions undergone through the course of lawless ages, at various times guarded with anxious care and saintly piety, ravaged by the wrath of fierce chiefs and clans, plundered by English freebooters and Norman cutthroats, burned by the savage Dane, and re-erected by Celtic devotion, Derry owed its restoration to that valiant and bloody soldier, Sir Henry Dowcra. On the hill of Derry, "which in troubled times was selected as the Acropolis of the North,"* Dowcra re-erected the town and laid the foundation of its importance.

On the 16th of April, 1600, with a large fleet and 4,200 men he entered the historic waters of Lough Foyle, and effected a landing at the Fort of Culmore. The Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Dwen were fighting their last great fight, and by the profound policy of Mountjoy victory had been snatched from their grasp. He met but little resistance. He erected strong works at Culmore and on the Derry; ramparts and strong walls of earth, large houses of lime and stone, and "a city in the erection of which much time and labour were bestowed."† He flung down the monastery, the cathedral, and all the other religious

* "Ordnance Survey of Derry," p. 17. This admirable piece of history and natural philosophy cannot be sufficiently praised. Pity that government would not win me popularity by publishing all the local histories of Ireland in a similar way.

† "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1600.

buildings, profanely to convert their materials to the uses of his forts and towers.* Strong garrisons were placed in Derry, which, however, were removed at the termination of the war in 1603, 100 horse and 150 foot under Dowcra, and 200 foot under Captain Richard Hansard, only being left to keep the place. During three years Sir Henry, who had been created Governor, laboured incessantly to lay, wide and sure, the foundations of a great commercial town. He procured several grants and patents for holding markets and for the enjoyment of many valuable liberties and privileges.† And he himself reaped for his services an abundant crop of honours and rewards; but in 1604, for certain inadequate considerations, he sold to George Pawlet of Hampshire, much to the said George's subsequent discomfiture, his house and land and company of foot, and having appointed him Vice-Provost of "the Derrie," he returned to England, and never resumed the government of the city, greatly to his own advantage and security. Sir George Pawlet had little time to follow up the wise designs of Dowcra. He was a rough and brutal soldier, and having insulted Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, the chief of Inishowen, by coarse language and personal chastisement, he drove that young and valiant lord into "rebellion." O'Dogherty took the fort of Culmore, it is said, by treachery, and Derry by sur-

* The "Ordnance Memoir" modifies the statement. It says that Dowcra only made use of the materials of the cathedral, it being in ruins.—Page 18.

† The charters are given in the "Ordnance Memoir," p. 39.

ise, put Sir George, his lieutenant, and garrison the sword, plundered the infant city, and reduced it to ashes. But a "fortunate shot in the head" terminated the career of Sir Cahir on the 11th July, 1608, and smoothed the way for the General Plantation, whose plans and projects had been already fully discussed, and whose fruits had already been devoured in anticipation by the tribes of Undertakers, Servitors, and other "hungry vultures," that awaited the partition of Ulster.

And now it was that commercial and trading enterprise effected what the wisdom of Dowry had commenced, and the vengeance of O'Dogherty so sadly interrupted. A new class of landlords, rich and grasping as the burghers of Ghent and Bruges, were planted on the ancient Hill of Wicks, and henceforth swayed Arachty with a foreign, unparental rule.

When the commission, issued by the crown to Chichester and the rest of the escheators, had returned their findings, duly giving six counties to James, that wise King conceiving that the City of London was the fittest body he could select, to effect a great Plantation in the North of Ireland, directed Robert Cecil to communicate with Sir Charles Edmonds, the city Remembrancer, desiring him to acquaint the Lord Mayor (who was Humphrey Weld), that the Earl wished a conference on the subject of the Ulster lands. A conference was had, and the propositions which I have already given, were made by the King to the City. These propositions were called "Motives and Reasons to induce the City

of London to undertake the Plantation in the North of Ireland," and they certainly were of a nature likely to attract the burgesses of a city, already distinguished for the keen pursuit of gain. The paper gave a glowing picture of Ulster, of its natural wealth and its great capacity for trade and commerce. It represented a country well watered, abundantly stored with every necessary, rich in its fattening pastures, and abundant in its promise of "butter, cheese, hides, and tallow;" with good harbours, plentiful ocean fishery, much train oil and fish oil, ready to reward the hands of industry—together it painted such prospects as could not well be resisted by the thrifty tailors, cloth workers and mercers, of the incomparable city of London. The country was broken to their hands—the mailed Barons, Knights, and soldiers had done their work, "braying the people as in a mortar"—and now the peaceful invaders, hungry and thick as the pests of Egypt, might spread themselves over the face of the land.

In a few days when these "Motives and Reasons" had time to sink into the hearts of the men of trade, the Corporation, and the Lords of the Privy Council came to an understanding—but with caution on the part of the burghers. They expressed their willingness to go on with the Plantation, if the King's representations of the feasibility and advantage of a London colony, were found by discreet commissioners of them *to be correct*. Upon which they despatched four *worthy citizens*, John Broad, Goldsmith; Robert Tresswell, Painter Stainer; John Rowley, Drapier; and John Munns, Mercer; as a depo

tation to inquire into and report upon the state of the county of Coleraine, and the propriety of the City of London taking part in its new colonization. They set out upon this grave mission, not without tears from weeping wives and friends, into the fastnesses and amidst the savages of the land of O'Neill and O'Donnell; and having boldly and wisely discharged their missionary duty, presented their report to the Court of Common Council.* The report was read, and we may presume, it confirmed the king's eulogies; for the Common Council appointed a committee to transact business with the Privy Council, and prescribed the times and place at Guildhall for their meeting. Would that there remained any true memorial of these meetings! It would be a study to hearken to those business-like robbers, gilding over with solemn plausibilities the schemes of iniquity they were planning—mourning over the "incivilitie" and barbarism of the natives, philanthropically devising reformation, magnifying the wise and munificent spirit of English trade, and dealing with all the other ingenious lies which craft and cupidity use to conceal their villany. But, there are no records left save a few formal entries in the town-books, from which we must draw our own inferences, dry entries, but significant enough.

* We are told in that very stupid compilation, "The Concise View of the Irish Society," that such a report was *presented*; but the report itself is not given, though it *would be most interesting*, nor does it give a single particular about the mission of these four pioneers of "civility."

The committee sat at Guildhall, and made their report to the common council, on the various conditions which they should require from the King, expressing their opinion in favour of the establishment of a company in London for the administration of the affairs of the Plantation, and of the foundation of corporations in Derry and Coleraine subject to the direction of the central company. And this was the germ of the "Irish Society," which for more than two centuries has enjoyed the rents and revenues of an entire Irish county; a company of foreign traders, having no kind of connection with Ireland, and yet swallowing an enormous rental dragged out of the vitals of the poorest country. to be expended in the richest city of Europe, The Irish Society is a type and symbolical representation of English rule in Ireland from the beginning.

The report was approved and presented to the privy council, and after some further conference articles of agreement were arranged (28th January, 1609,) between the privy council on the King's part, and the committee of the city on the part of the mayor and commonalty of London. Thus the King's sanguine wish was about to be fulfilled, the citizens had consented to take in hands the Plantation of Derry, and he was sensible, that "when his enemies should hear that the famous City of London had a footing *therein* (in Ulster), they would be terrified from *looking into Ireland, the back door of England and Scotland.*"*

* Letter of Sir Thomas Phillips.

The conditions on the part of the Londoners were:—

The City agreed to levy £20,000, £15,000 to be expended in clearing away private men's interests; to build a certain number of houses, leaving room for more, and that 4,000 acres should be allocated to the city.* That the rest of the County of Derry, estimated at 12,000 acres, should be cleared from private men's interests; that the timber of certain woods should be devoted to the furtherance of the Plantation, and not made merchandize. The articles provide for the City's having the presentation to churches; for the monopoly of sea and river fisheries; for the customs, poundage, tonnage, and great and small customs; for the enjoyment by the twelve trades of the office of Admiralty† along the coasts of Tyrconnell and Coleraigue, and the salvage of all their own vessels wrecked at sea, in Ballycastle and Oderfleete, and in all the coasts, ports, and creeks. A number of other provisions protect the interests of the Society and the City, stringent and comprehensive enough. It was amongst the rest settled that Culmore Fort, which Sir Arthur Chichester had resigned to James, should be given to the City, and the land appertaining, provided they maintained a sufficient force.

* These acres bred a serious controversy between the Corporation of Derry and the Irish Society, which continues I believe to the present moment, and in which the Irish Corporation has manifestly the advantage of the Anglo-Irish Society.

† A strange honour for the Drapers, &c. &c.

One part of these Articles was signed by Lord Ellesmere (Lord Chancellor), Robert Earl of Salisbury, Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Edward Earl of Worcester, George Earl of Dunbar, Edward Lord Zouch, William Lord Knowles, John Lord Stanhope, Sir John Herbert (Secretary to the King), and Sir Julius Cæsar. The other part was signed by Sir Henry Montague, and sixteen other persons of the Common Council committee. A singular mixture of aristocratic and plebeian names to attest this monstrous deed of partition, by which an entire principality is bestowed upon the trades of London.*

When these articles were executed, the Court of Common Council proceeded to constitute a company, to consist of one Governor and one Deputy Governor, and twenty-four Assistants; the Governor and five Assistants to be Aldermen, and the Recorder to be one of the Assistants, the rest being Commoners of the City of London. These officers were yearly to be elected at the first Common Council to be held after the feast of the "Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary." The first Governor of the Society was William Cockayne, Alderman and Sheriff, and the first Deputy was William Towerson.

The duties of the company were these:—
 "The Court further enacted, that the said company then elected and appointed, or *thereafter* from time to time to be elected and appointed, or any nine of them, whereof the Go-

* Concise View of the Society, p. 13.

vernor or Deputy for the time being to be one, should have full power and authority to hold and keep a court, and in the same to treat, debate, and determine of all matters and causes concerning the business that to them in their discretions should think fit; and also to direct, appoint, and command what should be done or performed on the behalf of the City, concerning the said plantation; and also should give direction in England, either by letters or otherwise sent to Ireland, for the ordering, managing, and disposing of all things whatsoever concerning the intended plantation, or anything belonging to the citizens of London's undertaking in that part of Ireland called Ulster; as also for the receiving, ordering, disposing, and disbursing of all sums of money that were or should be collected or gathered for that purpose, and generally for any other cause, matter, or thing whatsoever, incident to or belonging to the business and affairs in Ulster; and in the courts so to be holden should have full power and authority to nominate and appoint their clerk, beadle, and such other officers as they in their discretion should think fit; and that whatsoever should be done, decreed, or resolved by and at any such court so to be holden, should be firm and stable, and the Court of Common Council thereby declared it ratified and confirmed by them. The wardrobe in Guildhall was appointed to be the place where the courts of the company should be held. The times of meeting were to be appointed by the Governor or Deputy Governor, who were respectively to give orders for summoning the company together. The Cit

Chamberlain was at the same court of Common Council appointed Treasurer of the monies to be raised of the City for the purposes of the said plantation, who was to pay all monies conformably to warrants to be signed by the Governor or Deputy Governor, with three of the Assistants of the company."

Thus was "the Irish Society" formed. Whereupon Master Tristram Beresford and Master John Rowley were appointed general agents for the city, and immediately proceeded to Ireland, where soon after the Society got seizin of their estates.* On the 29th of March, 1613, they were incorporated by charter, under the denomination of "the Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the new Plantation of Ulster within the realm of Ireland." On the 28th of June following a charter was given to Coleraine.

In December, of the same year, the county was divided into twelve divisions, with the exception of the city of Londonderry and the town of Coleraine, and the adjacent territories, ferries, and fishings belonging to the same, of which no fair partition could have been made; one division being assigned to each of the twelve companies of the city of London, who had taken part in the Plantation. To each of the large companies, some smaller ones were added; for example to the mercers were added the *inn-keepers*, cooks, embroiderers, and masons. Altogether, never was such incongruous material got

* Concise View, p. 16.

together for landlords and planters of "civillitie." The estates were then consigned to the management of the companies.

That this management was of the worst description, harsh, indolent, grasping, uneconomic, is clear from the inquiries directed by the king, and the reports made thereupon. Sir Josias Bodley, was sent by the Lord Deputy in 1613, to examine unto the progress of the Plantation, and to ascertain whether the city had performed its part. He made a report to James, complaining of their negligence in the strongest terms, whereupon the king, a ready writer, a very Solomon at the Pen, nay, more familiar with the Pen even than with the Sceptre—though tenderly loving both—writes a letter to his dear Counsellor Sir Arthur Chichester; a notable historic document, as all James's are, but rather too long to copy here.*

He reminds Sir Arthur, of the great revenue he might have derived from the Plantation, if he had not preferred the reformation of that disordered district of Ulster by a civil Plantation, (a nice euphony for robbery!) to be made therein, before the private profit he might have reaped by it. But, alas for royal hopes and royal wisdom! after all his liberal grants, he had discovered that neither the safety of the country, nor the planting of religion and civility, "amongst that rude and barbarous people," which were the principal objects of that project, † and which he

* See it in full in the Appendix to the "Concise View." pp. 37, 38.

† Again I must refer the reader to Mr. Lascelles's *Obse*

expected as the only fruits and returns to him of his bounty, were any whit as yet materially effected by the London shopmen. He was not ignorant how much the real accomplishment of the Plantation concerned the future peace and safety of Ireland; but if there were no reason of state to press it forward, yet would his majesty pursue and effect that work as earnestly as he was doing, merely for the goodness and morality of it, "esteeming the settling of religion, the introducing of civility, order, and government amongst a barbarous and unsubjected people, to be an act of piety and glory, and worthy of a Christian prince to endeavour."

He requests that a careful survey should be taken, and the results to be accurately conveyed to him. For he had been informed that some of the Undertakers, (meaning thereby, doubtlessly, the London merchants,) had sold away their portions to men of mean ability and unfit for the service, and that other similar offences had been committed against the planting of civility. And finally, he says, "we are so desirous to understand from you the true state of the Plantation, that once again we do strictly enjoin you to give us a faithful account of this trust which we repose in you, without care or fear to please or displease any of our subjects, English or Scottish, of what quality soever."

ventions on Preambles. His history of Ireland has been suppressed by government; it was too true for general use. But, it fortunately is still to be found in the Four Courts' Library, and I believe the Dublin Society. It ought to be republished.

One of the consequences of this letter was the appointment of a new officer, Nicholas Pynnar, to take a general survey of the works of the company on their proportions in Ulster.* And this survey, lamely and inconclusively as it was executed, will serve to show how far these London landlords complied with the conditions of their grant.

The following return was made by Pynnar of the results of his inquiry, A.D. 1619:

LONDON-DERRY, CITY AND COUNTY.

The City of London-Derry is now compassed about with a very strong wall, excellently made, and neatly wrought, being all of good lime and stone; the circuit hereof is two hundred and eighty-four perches and two thirds, at eighteen feet to the perch; besides the four towers, which contain eighty-four feet; and in every place of the wall it is twenty-four feet high and six feet thick. The gates are all battlemented, but to two of them there is no going up, so that they serve to no great use, neither have they made any leaves for their gates; but where two draw-bridges serve for two of them, and two portcullises for the other two. The bulwarks are very large and good, being in number nine; besides two half bulwarks; and for four of them there may be four cannons or other great pieces; the rest are not all out so large, but wanteth very little. The rampart within the city is twelve feet thick of earth; all things are very well and substantially done, saving there wanteth a house for the soldiers to watch in, and a sentinel house for the soldiers to stand in in the night to defend them from the weather, which is most extreme in these parts.

* The "Concise View" states that, somewhat later, a survey was made by Sir Thomas Phillips, and that his account of it is extant at Lambeth Library. I have unfortunately not been able to see this document, but Sir Thomas Phillips was not a disinterested witness.

Since the last survey there is built a school, which is sixty-seven feet in length and twenty-five feet in breadth, with two other small houses. Other building there is not any within the city. The whole number of houses within the city are ninety-two, and in them there are one hundred and two families, which are far too few a number for the defence of such a circuit, they being scarce able to man one of the bulwarks; neither is there room enough to set up one hundred houses more, unless they will make them as little as the first, and name each room for a house.

CULMORE FORT.

This fort or blockhouse of Culmore is now in the hands of Captain John Baker; the walls are now finished, and the castle built; all which is strong and neatly wrought, with platforms for their artillery: and this is the only key and strength of the river that goeth to the Derry.

COLERAINE.

The town of Coleraine is at the same state it was at the last survey; there are but three houses added more to the building, which are done by other men; only the city hath allowed them twenty pounds a piece towards their building. That part of the town, which unbuilt, is so extreme dirty, that no man is able to go in it, and especially that which should and is accounted to be the market place. The walls and ramparts, built of sods, and filled with earth, do begin to decay very much and to moulder away; for the ramparts are so narrow that it is impossible they should stand, and the bulwarks are so exceeding little, that there cannot be placed any piece of artillery, if occasion were. There are two small ports which are made of timber and boards, and they serve for houses for the soldiers to watch in. This town is so poorly inhabited, that there are not men enough to man the sixth part of the wall.

GOLDSMITHS' HALL.

3,210 ACRES.

John Freeman, Esq., hath this proportion, containing by estimation three thousand two hundred and ten acr

Upon this proportion there is a bawn of lime and stone one hundred feet square, sixteen feet high, with four flankers; also there is a large castle or stone house in building within the wall, which was two stories high, and the workmen earnestly at work to finish it with all haste. There are also six houses of stone, and six of timber, very strong and well built, and seated in a very good and convenient place for the King's service.

GROCCERS' HALL.

MUFFE, 3,210 ACRES.

Edward Rone had this proportion; but he being dead there is no body to aver for the buildings.

Upon this proportion there is a bawn in building, being one hundred feet square, with four flankers, the walls are now five feet high. By this bawn there are built four good strong houses of lime and stone, and well slated. There are four more that are built in other places, somewhat further off. There are other houses of lime and stone that are upon the land dispersed; but they are built by the tenants themselves; and yet they have no estates, and likely, as they tell me, to be removed, some of them having spent upon their building one hundred pounds; and this is through the slackness of the Company that have not made estates to the Undertakers. All this land, for the most part, is inhabited with Irish.

FISHMONGERS' HALL.

BALLYKELLY, 3,210 ACRES.

This proportion is in the hands of James Higgins, a merchant of London, whose agent is here resident.

Upon this there is built a strong bawn of stone and lime one hundred and twenty-five feet square, twelve feet high, with four flankers, and a good house within it, being fifty feet square, all finished and inhabited by the agent, and furnished with good store of arms.

There are near to the castle fifteen houses, whereof three are of stone and lime; the rest are of timber, and are rough cast with lime and slated. These stand in a convenient place for service. There is also a church

near built, which is forty-three feet long, twenty-six wide, neatly made up, and a good preacher to teach the people.

IRONMONGERS' HALL.

3,210 ACRES.

George Cammynge, agent for the Company, is here resident; but he hath no order to make any estates to any tenants that are come thither to dwell; notwithstanding there are divers that have disbursed a great deal of money, and built good houses. All that these men can get are articles of agreement for thirty-one years; but they fear that this may be altered by others that may come after: notwithstanding they pay for every townland, which they account to be but sixty acres, five pounds ten shillings, or five pounds per annum. The uncertainty of this is a great hindrance of the Plantation. The castle, which was formerly begun, is [thoroughly finished, being a very good and strong castle; and there is a bawn of brick and lime, whereof there are but three sides done, without flankers, which maketh the place of no strength. There are also eight dwelling houses of cage work, some are slated, and some shingled; but they stand so far asunder that they have but little succour one of another.

MERCERS' HALL.

MANAWAY, 3,210 ACRES.

This is not set to any man as yet; but it is held by one Vernon, agent for the Company.

Upon this proportion the castle, which was formerly begun, is now thoroughly finished, being not inferior to any that is built; for it is a good strong work, and well built, and a very large bawn of one hundred and twenty feet square, with four flankers, all of good stone and lime. Not far from the bawn there are six houses of cage-work, some covered with shingles, and some *thatched*, and inhabited by such poor men as they could *find in the country*; and these pay such dear rates *for the land*, that they are forced to take Irish tenants *under them* to pay the rent. There are divers other

houses of slight building, but they are far off, and dwell dispersedly in the wood, where they are forced of meer necessity to relieve such wood kearn as go up and down the country; and, as I am informed by divers in the country, there are in forty-six townlands of this proportion, that are set to the Irish of the sept of Clandonella, which are the wickedest men in all the country.

MERCHANT TAILORS' HALL.

MACOSKIN, 3,210 ACRES.

This is in the hands of Valentine Hartopp, Esq., who is newly come to dwell there, having taken this proportion of the Company for sixty-one years. This castle is finished, being fifty feet long and thirty-four feet wide; the castle is battlemented, and built very strong. There is no bawn begun as yet; but the gentleman is causing stone and lime to be laid in readiness, that they may go roundly away with it. Here, near unto the castle, are built seven good houses of stone and lime, well slated and inhabited with English, standing altogether in a well-chosen place. There is a fair large church well finished, being eighty-six feet long and thirty-two feet broad, the roof set up and ready to be slated.

HABERDASHERS' HALL.

BALLYCASTLE, 3,210 ACRES.

Sir Robert Mac Lellan hath taken this of the Company for sixty-one years; and upon this the castle is strongly finished, being very strong and well wrought, himself with his lady and family dwelling in it. There is no bawn nor sign of any, nor any other kind of building, more than slight houses after the Irish manner, which are dispersed all over the land. The church lieth still as at the first, and nothing at all doing unto it. There were nominated unto me six freeholders, which were in Scotland, and these were set down but for small quantities; and twenty-one leaseholders; but not any one of these could show me any thing in writing for their estates; neither could the landlord show me any counterparts. It is true I saw the land planted with British tenants to the number of eighty men, and in the castle arms for them.

CLOTHWORKERS' HALL.

3,210 ACRES.

The said Sir Robert hath taken this proportion of the Company for sixty-one years; and upon this there is a castle of lime and stone fifty-four feet long, thirty-four feet wide, and twenty-eight feet in height; but this is not as yet covered, neither any plantation with British tenants, but only one freeholder, which is the parson of the parish. For all this land is inhabited with Irish.

SKINNERS' HALL.

DUNGIVEN, 3,210 ACRES.

The Lady Dodington, late wife to Sir Edward Dodington, deceased, is in possession of this, she having a grant of it from the Company for sixty-one years. Here is built a strong castle, being two stories high and a half, with a large bawn of lime and stone well fortified. In this the lady is now dwelling, with twenty-four in her family. There is also in another place of this land, called Crossalt, a strong castle of lime and stone built by Sir Edward, being eighty feet long and thirty-four feet broad, with two turrets to flank it; also a bawn of lime and stone an hundred feet square, fourteen feet, and our flankers; so that on this proportion there are two bawns and two castles, with two villages, containing twelve houses a piece. At each castle also there is a church adjoining to the castle, and a good teacher to instruct the people. There is plenty of arms in these castles.

VINTNERS' HALL.

3,210 ACRES.

This is in the hands of Baptist Jones, Esq., who hath built a bawn of brick and lime an hundred feet square, *with two round flankers and a good rampart, which is more than any of the rest have done.* There are also *within the bawn two good houses, one opposite to the other; the one is seventy feet long and twenty-five feet wide; the other is nothing inferior unto it.* Near and

the bawn he hath built ten good English houses of cagework, that be very strong and covered with tiles, the street very wide, and is to be commanded by the bawn. All these are inhabited with English families, and himself with his wife and family be resident therein. There are divers other good houses built upon the land, which are further off; and these do use tillage plentifully after the English manner. He hath made his full number of freeholders and leaseholders; but he being gone into England, and his tenants at the assizes, I saw them not. There was good store of arms in his house, and upon the land seventy-six men, as I was informed.

DRAPERS' HALL. :

MONEYMORE, 3,210 ACRES.

This proportion is not set to any man, but is held by the agent, Mr. Russel. Upon this there is a strong bawn of stone and lime an hundred feet square, fifteen feet high, with two flankers. There is a castle within the bawn of the same wideness, being battlemented, the which hath also two flankers, and near finished. Right before the castle there are built twelve houses, whereof six are of lime and stone very good, and six of timber, inhabited with English families; and this is the best work that I have seen for building; a water-mill and a malt-house also. A quarter of a mile from the town there is made a conduit head, which bringeth water to all places in the bawn and town in pipes. But these tenants have not any estates; for the agent can make none, neither will they, till such time as their land can be improved to the utmost. Within this castle there is good store of arms.

SALTERS' HALL. :

3,210 ACRES.

Hugh Sayer is upon this proportion, and upon this they have built in two several places at Marifelt. There is a bawn of eighty feet square of lime and stone, with two flankers, and the castle is now in building, being sixty feet long and twenty feet wide. This is now three stories high, and the roof ready to be set up. The wal

of the bawn are not as yet above ten feet high. Near unto the bawn there are seven houses of alight cage-work, whereof five are inhabited with poor men, the other two stand waste. The other place, called Salter's Town, hath a bawn of stone and lime seventy feet square, twelve feet high, with two flankers, and a poor house within it of cage-work, in which the farmer, with his wife and family, dwelleth. Here are also nine houses of cage-work standing by the bawn, being inhabited with British families, also a sawing-mill for timber; but the glass-houses are gone to decay, and utterly undone. There are not any upon this land that have any estates.*

Pynnar's inquiry with reference to the entire Plantation, resulted in these conclusions:—

That there were settled on the escheated lands 6,215 bodies of men, but he observes that, from the number of habitations, and by having conversed with parties who were there, and familiar with the statistics, he is led to believe that there might have been then (1619) found on these lands at least 800 men of British descent and birth, ready and able to do his Majesty's service:

That there were built 107 castles with bawns 19 castles without bawns; 42 bawns without castles or houses; 1,897 dwelling-houses of stone and timber built after the English manner:

That from the insecurity of tenure, many the English tenants did not then plough up the lands nor use husbandry, because they fear to stock themselves with cattle and servants such labours; nor did the Irish use tillage, for a similar and a more just apprehension of continuance of their holdings:

That the English rested satisfied with the

* *Pynnar's Survey in Harris's "Hibernica,"* pp. 2

orbitant rents they obtained from the Irish who grazed their lands, and if the Irish had been put away with their cattle, the British should have either forsaken their dwellings or endured great distress "on the suddain."* Yet the combination of the Irish "is dangerous to them, by robbing them and otherwise."

That the greatest number of Irish dwelt upon the lands of the City of London, which he attributes to the fact, that the estates of five of the companies were not set to tenants, but were still in the hands of agents, who finding the Irish more profitable than the British, were unwilling "to draw on the English, persuading the company that the lands were mountainous and unprofitable, not regarding the future security of the whole."† And, moreover, he found that the lessees of lands affirmed that they were not bound to plant with English, but may plant with any people they pleased, (an ingenious and just reading of the orders and conditions,) and that neither was the City of London bound by its patent to plant with English. On these rocks, honest Nicholas Pynnar decided, that the Plantation would fail egregiously.‡ In some senses, Nicholas was right.

It is fortunate, that for the historic interest of

* How singular it is, and painful to think, that the only security the natives had against entire destruction was in the necessities, fears, and wants of their depouillers.

† Pynnar's Survey, in Harris's "Hibernica," page 36-7.

‡ Ibid. page 237.

this essay, we are not bound to follow "the I Society" through its various fortunes; nor to how the end of all these delinquencies and these inquiries was a sequestration of their I property, (1624); how, when Wentworth* Lord Deputy, (1625), he brought over with his chaplain, Bramhall, afterwards Bishop Derry, and a sore thorn in the Society's side; how Sir Thomas Phillips, (1625), sent forth the King, after due deliberation, "a most violent accusation;"† and how various other virulent accusations followed fast at the instigation of Bramhall, urging the King to revoke the charter and to take the lands into his own royal hands; how the patent of James was annulled by Star Chamber, (1637), and Londonderry sent into his Majesty's keeping; how the society and their terre-tenants were served with scire fac and judgments, went duly against them, when the letters patent were revoked, cancelled, made void, and the county and the city sent into the King's hands; and how, finally, the sentence was reversed, and the Society, in the eventful year of 1641, were restored to all their possessions, the Bishop of Derry and Sir Thomas Phillips, notwithstanding.§

* Commonly called Black Tom, and afterward headed by the warrant of his loving master, Charles First.

† "Concise View," p. 32.

‡ Law jargon, which it would benefit none but lawyers to know anything about; and of which few of us do know anything.

§ Any reference to the long litigations of the S

The Irish Society have never been, and it is in nature that they ought not to be, popular as landlords. Even so late as three years since, an able and important document has been printed by the Corporation of Derry, being the Address of the Mayor to that body, detailing the numberless crying evils which this foreign and grasping society inflicts upon the country, which has the misfortune to be under its control. The address is a most inestimable document historical and political, and its statements will possibly, in the end, assist in bringing about the expulsion of the representatives of the original usurpation.*

is here needless. They have no historical, and little general interest.

* At a time, when an incapable government is allowing a people to starve before the eyes of the civilized world, and when agrarian murder is scattering destruction through the land, why do they not sequester the possessions of the society—it was done before by Charles the Martyr—and divide them in fee-farms amongst the people, of course, giving the London shopkeepers what their predecessors paid for the estates and the value of their permanent improvements? But let me be understood to speak only of an absentee corporation of English traders, men who confer on our country no protection by their power and no glory by their station. I do not speak of those descendants of the original planters, who, born on our soil, have a title that no human being can question or doubt, and amongst whom have been found some of our most distinguished patriots, orators, and soldiers. But the incongruity of a set of London tradesmen, squandering our revenues upon their city, or their appetites, is too great, and the injustice too monstrous to be endured by any but a nation of the most spiritless slaves. Do the Irish people deserve the name?

In the Appendix to Mr. Haslet's statement the following charge and reply :—

Charges by the Corporation.

“ That from the nature of their constitution the Society is incapable of rendering any permanent benefit to this country, as it is composed of merchants and tradesmen in the city of London, whose business requires their constant residence therein, whereby they are, of course, ignorant of the local circumstances and wants of the inhabitants of this district, and, besides, being only elected for two years, cannot possibly acquire the information proper to qualify them for the due discharge of their duties; and, accordingly, it appears by the accounts printed and published by them, that, in the course of the nine years ending March, 1833, they have received no less a sum than £77,000 from their estates in this country, while not more than £8,000 have been expended in it—a sum not equal to the amount divided among the members, or expended by them in taverns.

Reply by the Society.

“ The Society are : ally elected agreeably Charter, and whether colonisation of the C of Derry from the C London, and the dif ramifications of the prescribed by the C were theoretically w not a matter to be a at the present mome is obvious it has been tically beneficial; an present state of that c which is the most pea and orderly in its cor and is an example pointed out to all the parts of Ireland, f shows the benefits have resulted from it present unfortunate tion of the Corporat Derry is certainly a ception, but it has clearly shown not to been produced by tl ciety, but by their ow fuse expenditure and misapplication of the confided to their m. ment. The nine yea count referred to, ins £8,000, shew that of £35,000 have b pend in Ireland Society.

"That this sum is stated to have been expended on schools and public charities; yet your petitioners believe and confidently assert, that no sum has ever been expended by them to improve the farm-buildings or houses of the tenantry on their estates.

"The Society let their lands upon such easy rents, and upon such leases, as to make it the interest of the tenants to build."*

How excellently, and with what force, are all the leading doctrines of the present popular party in this country, which is widening into a National Party, set forth in this vigorous statement of the Derry Corporation! Brave doctrines and manly, for the bold descendants of the Ulster planters.

But one or two entries, from their own historian, may be added to enable the reader to judge of the principles and mode of conduct of the Irish Society. One has been already given, which records their selfish opposition to the attempts made to raise Ballycastle to the benefits and commercial position of a town of import and export. Another, and more important, is the following:—

"The society sent precepts to all the companies, requiring each of them to send one or two artisans with their families, into Ulster, to settle there; and directions were also given, *in order that Derry might not in future be peopled with Irish, that twelve Christ's Hospital and other poor*

* This observation, if correct when made, would certainly not be so if made now. There are no tenantry in this neighbourhood who complain more of their landlords, than do the tenants of the Honourable the Irish Society. No lands in the country are more highly rented than their late lettings.

children should be sent there as apprentices and servants, and the inhabitants were to be prohibited from taking Irish apprentices. Directions were also given to the companies, to repair churches on their several proportions, and furnish the ministers with a bible, common prayer book and a communion cup. The trades which society recommended as proper to introduce into Ulster were weavers of common cloth, fustians and new stuffs, felt-makers and trimmers of hats and hat band makers, lock-smiths and farriers, tanners and fellmongers, iron-makers, glass-makers, pewterers, coast fishermen, turners, basket-makers, tallow-chandlers, dyers, and curriers.

And thus did it come to pass, by royal wisdom and plebeian cupidity, that the twelve companies of London became absentee proprietors of precious estates in Ireland, of towns, and cities, castles, and lakes, and seas; a most singular settlement, unlike all of which there is remaining record. That on the whole they have very discharged their duties to themselves, and after a very scurvy fashion to their tenants, is true; the most indisputable fact is that there they are, a permanent and enduring monument raised by his own hands, to the wisdom and the honour of James Stuart.

James had excellent ministers for his purposes. Cecil and Bacon divide between them the honour of devising most of the great stratagems and tricks of his reign, Gunpowder plots, sham Irish plots, Spanish marriages, and Orders of Nobility. Thus, it is doubtful, whether it was the treachery of the chancellor, who hit upon the fortune

edient, for a needy monarch, of creating the order of Baronetage, a most merchantable and profitable commodity. Considering, however, that there is extant an elaborate letter of Sir Francis Bacon to James the First, on the title, dignity, and precedence of Baronets, having been consulted by the King on these momentous points, and that Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Chancellor's near relation, of Redgrave, Suffolk, was the first creation, we may safely attribute some share of the invention to the latter.*

The King, pressed for money, and at the same time having a most apt and plausible excuse to get it, namely, to provide for the safety of his infant Ulster Plantation, on the 22nd of May, 1611, founded the order of Baronets in England, the fees of each patent of creation being over £1000. It was an order of intermediate dignity between baron and knight. Baronets were permitted to bear in their coat armour, as an honourable augmentation, the arms of the ancient Kings of Ulster, either in a canton or scutcheon of pretence, being *argent, a hand sinister, coupéd at the wrist, extended in paleules*; in other and more intelligible language than this jargon, the arms of Ulster were the Red Hand of O'Neill, degraded much by being made parcel of these undeserved and venal honours. In the patent creating this order, which the reader will find set out at length in its original Ciceronian Latin, in the 3d volume of Johnelden's works, (p. 842), James sets forth as the

* Letter to the King.—Bacon's Works, vol. 2, p. 161

promoting cause of its institution, his anxiety to consummate the Plantation of Ulster, "*illa minimi momenti, inter alias imperii nostri gerendas, de Plantatione regni nostri Hiberniæ potissimum Ultoniæ.*" And in the same patent he enumerates the objects of the Plantation, *oppida condantur, ædes et castra struantur, colonantur, et id genus alia.*" But these were pretences both of the Plantation of Ulster and institution of baronetcy; the moving motive nearly half a million of our present money, which the King received and pocketed. For in his instructions, preserved also in Selden, he carefully directs the commissioners appointed to superintend the patents, that "the treasurer of England should so order the receipt, (namely, of the baronet's fees, or purchase money,) as none thereof be mixed with our other treasure, kept apart by itself to be wholly converted to that use to which it is given and intended." The object for which this levy was destined, not, as was pretended, the Plantation of Ulster, but to furnish means for the profligate extravagance of James and his favourite Rochester, clear from the statement of Hume, that it was the duty of "Suffolk, a man of slender capacity (who had succeeded Cecil,) to supply from the exhausted treasury, the profusion of James and his young favourite. The title of Baronet, invented by Salisbury, was sold; and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood, were disposed of for so many thousand pounds."*

* *James the First was very immoral.*

gard says, that this device for providing money, was the invention of Sir Anthony Shirley, for which the Earl of Salisbury promised him a large recompense "which he never had."* However this may have been, the baronetage was created and was sold; it was to descend to heirs male and to be confined to 200 gentlemen of three descents, (a promise scandalously broken, for in a few reigns there had been created over a thousand of them), and possessing at least £1000 year. The patent was priced at £1,095, the estimated charge of thirty soldiers during three years, and purchasers were found; not so abundant, however, as the King wished, or his necessities required. In six years ninety-three patents were sold. "It is unnecessary," Dr. Lingard says, "to add that the money never found its way to Ireland."

The order of Irish baronetcy, was instituted on the 13th September, 1619. It is now consolidated with the baronetcy of England and the Scotch baronetage of the Plantation of Nova Scotia.

charmed," says Hume, "to hear of the amours of his court, and listened with attention to every tale of gallantry."—*Hist. of England*, vol. 6, p. 67, Edinburgh ed. 1806. He superintended the adulterous pleasures of Rochester and the profligate Countess of Essex, and was the worthless centre of all the scandals of his wretched court.

* Lingard, vol. 9, p. 149, quoting Sir Thomas Shirley in Dalrymple, p. 69.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Parliaments of 1613, 1614, 1615—The battle of
 Speakership—Attainder of the Traitors.
 A. D. 1613, 14, 15.

IN the beginning of the year 1613, there were two great parties in Ireland—one which adhered to the Government, attached to it by sympathy of religion, by the enjoyment of offices, or the expectation of favours; the other, the Recusants,* or, in other words, the Roman Catholic nobility, whether of English or Irish descent, and the native people of the country. The relative strength of these two parties was now to be tried in a parliamentary contest as singular as any which has ever occurred. Chichester had two objects in summoning a parliament—to establish an English ascendancy, and to attain the Earls. Twenty-seven years had passed away, and no such assembly had sat in Ireland, when it was thought politic to obtain a sanction to the Plantation by this attainder. It is remarkable that all the fruits of forfeiture had already been enjoyed. The estates of Tyrowen, Tyrconnel O'Cahan, O'Dogherty, and Maguire had been seized upon and divided, and the tribes of Under

* Recusants were those refusing to attend church worship, or to take the oaths—in fine, Catholics, and mere Irish.

kers and Servitors had been located in the incipalities of the Irish chiefs. It appeared if the conscience of the King needed a further action.

But, apart from all other considerations, Sir Arthur Chichester was determined to establish a permanent ENGLISH ASCENDANCY in the Irish Parliament;* and he pledged himself to his master, provided that he was indulged in making the previous arrangements, that in spite of numbers, property, and influence in the country, he could securely establish that ascendancy in the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons.† “So early,” says Plowden, “was the doctrine of managing parliaments brought to practical efficiency.‡

It was decided that the Parliament should be held on the 18th of May, 1613. Summonses were issued, and the elections took place. But Chichester had previously adopted efficient steps to procure for himself a great majority; for, at his suggestion, James had created a set of boroughs—“potwalloping boroughs”—to the number of forty, which were represented in Parliament by “captains, lieutenants, and commander

* Plowden (vol. 1, p. 227, Andrews' London ed., 1831) calls it Protestant Ascendancy, but it was Protestant only because English and Protestant interests looked the same way.

† Ibid., vol. 2, p. 228. Plowden does not give his authority, which is unpardonable in a historian, but a study of the original documents given in the *Desiderata Hibernica Curiosa* convinces me that he is right in his views.

‡ Ibid.

of soldiers, which did daily oppress this country; many clerks, attorneys, and officers of courts and places, who with excessive fees continually extorted upon the subjects; divers servants to great men, and others that made themselves benefit by following of intrusions and concealments,* to the great impoverishment of ancient gentlemen and freeholders.”†

The elections presented a lively scene of commotion and outrage. The Recusants were strong and not wanting in vigour and energy to support their own views. They were strong, because of the addiction of the people, both noble and ignoble, patrician and plebeian, to Romanism, who would not vote for any but an avowed recusant, “by means whereof many hollow-hearted persons were produced for knights of the shire and burgesses of Parliament.”§ And they w

* Concealments occurred thus:—“In the confusion of all former times, lands had necessarily been concealed and detained from the Crown. Adventurers were encouraged by the numerous donations of estates, and the ease with which affluent fortunes were obtained in this land; they ransacked old records, they detected the concealments, were countenanced by the State, dispossessed old inhabitants, or obliged them to compound for their intrusion.”—*Leland*, vol. 2, p. 439.

† *Hibernica Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. 1, p. 220.

‡ This is the first instance I have met with of an election now usually adopted by underbred bigotry and applied to Roman Catholics.—*Des. Hib. Cur.*, vol. 1, p. 156.

§ *Ibid*, p. 156. An interesting account is given of the election of Dublin representatives in this book. The article is called “Chronicles of Ireland.”

energetic, because their cause was the cause of Religion and Toleration.

The Catholic lords of the Pale were justly alarmed at the calling of this Parliament, anticipating its designs, and they addressed several expostulatory letters to James, the first of which bears date the 25th November, 1612. This letter, though flattering enough—presented, indeed, “upon the bended knees of our loyal hearts,” a strange Catholic metaphor—gave great offence to James, unaccustomed to hear in England the words of truth and justice, and which he answered with becoming ire of royalty. Winter wore away in fruitless negotiations, and the 18th of May, 1613, broke upon a singular and eventful struggle.

On that day, the Lord Deputy, with the peers of the realm, and the nobles and clergy, both bishops and archbishops, (but with no Recusant peer, noble, or bishop), “attired in scarlet robes very sumptuously, with sound of trumpet, the Lord Barry and the Lord Buttevant bearing the Sword of State, and the Earl of Thomond bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and after all these the Lord Deputy, riding upon a most stately horse, very richly trapped, himself attired in a very rich and stately robe of purple velvet, which the King’s Majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth,”* did ride from the Castle of Dublin to the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, to hear divine service, and a sound orthodox sermon preached by

* Des. Hib. Cur., vol. 1, p. 166.

the Reverend Father in God, Christopher H. ton, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. When this pious employment was over, they returned in equal state to the Castle, where they ascended to the High House of Parliament, and the Lord Deputy, attired very sumptuously as before, sat down in his chair of state. When upon the Lord Chancellor made a grave and worthy speech, and amongst other things declared his Majesty's pleasure concerning Sir John Davies, his Majesty's Attorney-General, and that he was pleased that he should be the Speaker of the Lower Parliament House, and how his Majesty had by his gracious letter recommended the said Sir John to the Lord Deputy, and the whole state of the Parliament House, wished them to accept of him for that purpose,—a doubtful proceeding on the part of James, appearing to be a privilege of the Parliament to elect their own Speaker, the assent of the Commons being a mere formula.†

On the next day the House proceeded to elect a Speaker. The Recusants entered Dublin in state, with armed servants, and all the ap-

* This Parliament sat in the Castle.

† A constitutional precedent to that effect was not finally established later, in the reign of Charles II. The Parliament of 1679. Meres was named by the Commons, but Seymour was elected by the Commons. The Commons refused to receive the latter, but the House persisted in their choice. A compromise occurred, and the dignity was saved, by the election of a third party. The point was considered as settled.—Wingrove, *History of Party*, vol. 1, p. 88; Burnett, *Parliamentary History*.

ance of triumph. But the election for Speaker proved that they had mistaken their numbers. Sir John Davies was introduced to take his place, but was objected to by the Recusants. After much uproar, scarcely to be matched even in modern assemblies, an election took place, and a division was had, the Catholic party proposing Sir John Everard, who had lost his place as Chief Justice because he would not take the necessary oaths, whereupon, according to the custom of the Irish House, one party (and that was the Government men) went out into an adjoining room to be numbered, when the Recusants put Sir John Everard into the chair. The Government party, when they came back, seeing that though they had a majority they were thus outwitted, set Sir John Davies on Everard's lap, and then forcibly pulled the latter down, tore his garments, and bruised his body.* The numbers in the division for Speakership were, the House

* This is the statement of the Recusant party, (Des. Hib. Cur., vol. 1, p. 223,) and must, of course, be taken with allowances. A scene equally turbulent took place a little later in the English House, when Denzel, Holles, and other honourable members, seized Speaker Finch, and held him by main force in the chair.—*Carlyle's Speeches and Letters of Cromwell*, vol. 1, p. 98. The Government party in the Irish house were emboldened to this strong act by the presence of a band of soldiers, completely armed, with lighted matches in their hands, who were placed for purposes of terrorism at the entrance of the Parliament rooms.—*Curry's Civil Wars*, p. 79. Similar scenes of brutal and overbearing despotism occurred at the time of the Union. Indeed, the packing of the house, the corruption, and the intimidation on both these occasions, have a strong family likeness.

being composed of 232 members—127 Government members for Sir John Davies; 97 Recusant members for Sir John Everard; six members were absent; and the two candidates made up the number 232.

The Recusant lords and gentlemen did not cease importuning the Crown, and they were at length ordered over to London, to state their case to his Majesty in person. The names of those who went were Jenico Preston, Lord Gormanstown; James Lord Dunboyne; Sir Christopher Plunket; Sir James Gough; William Talbot, and Edward Fitzharris. To anticipate any effect these statements might have, though it was not probable they would have produced any on the biassed mind of James, Chichester dispatched three avant-couriers to England, namely, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir John Denham, and the Earl of Thomond, with full anticipatory instructions. These are the instructions, with the profanest closing that the insolent spirit of vulgar Puritanism could devise:—

“ A part of the Instructions sent to the Earl of Thomond, Sir John Denam, and Sir Oliver St. John, in England, 6th Junii, 1613.

“ Whereas they say, that such as were returned to their party were without exception, you may shew the contrary by shewing how many of them were heads of rebellion in the last wars, how some of them can speak no English, how they were all elected by a general combination and practice of jesuits and priests, who charged all the people, upon pain of excommunication, not to elect any of the king's religion.

“ To acquaint the lords of the council in the presence of the recusant lords and commons now gone thither, that in conference had with Tyrone and his Irish partakers:

the late rebellion, when they thought to carry the kingdom from the crown of England, he and the rest of the ancient Irish did solemnly declare and publish, that no person of what quality or degree soever, being descended of Irish race, birth or blood, though they came in with the conquest, and were since degenerated and become Irish by alteration of name and customs, should inherit or possess a foot of land within the kingdom, for that they had of the ancient Irish that could pretend justly to every foot of land which they possessed, who should enjoy the same. And when it was demanded of them by some degenerate English, and others of good surnames, who did join and partake with them in that rebellion, what should become of them and their houses and families, they said, that those of the rebellion should be slain; the rest, if they would stay in the land, should be entertained for their bonaughts, or to labour, and if they liked not thereof they might depart the kingdom.

“ This discourse notwithstanding they can be content to admit into the house of parliament to make laws, some of the principal actors in that rebellion, and are offended, that they cannot expulse the king's honest subjects to draw in more of that wicked crew, as namely are elected and returned, Sir Bryan Mc Mahon, who is married to Tyrone's daughter, Sir Tibot ne Long, alias Bourke, Phelim Mc Tieghe Byrne, Dermot Mc Cartie, alias Mc Donogh, Donnel O Sullivan, Bryan Mc Donogh, supposed by the recusants duly elected; and that they would fain draw into the house Sir Tirlagh M'Henry O'Neal, half brother to Tyrone, Sir Arthur M'Genis, who is married to Tyrone's daughter, Henry M'Shane O'Neal, Tirlagh M'Art O'Neal, Connor Roe Maguire, Sir John M'Coughlan, Callogh O'Moloy, Capt. Richard Tyrrell, and others of that crew. *For they would have Barabbas, and exclude Jesus.*”

James himself delivered his final answer (having previously sent William Talbot and Thomas Luttrell, two other recusant missionaries, to the Tower and Fleet, as a conclusive reply to their arguments) on the 12th April, 1614, in the

Council Chamber of Whitehall, whither the Recusants had been summoned. He said, that their first letter was full of pride and arrogance, wanting much of the respects that subjects owe their sovereign (though it was presented "on the bended knees of their most loyal hearts"); and he goes on to say :—"Of fourteen returns whereof you complained, but two have been proved false; and in the government nothing hath been proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven. But commonly offenders are most bold to make offers of innocency, for this being in passion, began in heat, and continue in heat; but when they see themselves in the glass of their own vanity, they find their error: and this I have found by my own experience in Scotland, and since my coming hither."

And again he says: "The parliament being sat, you went on with greater contempt. There were in the lower house two bodies, and but one head; and whereas you should have made an humble and dutiful answer to the commendation which I made of a speaker, you, the recusant party being the fewer, when the greater number went out to be numbered, shut the door, and thrust one into the chair as a speaker. After this the recusants of both houses departed from the parliament; the like was never heard of in France, Spain, or any kingdom in Christendom."

The next portion of his reply is celebrated; "But you complain of the new boroughs, therein I would fain feel your pulse, for yet I find not where the shoe wrings. For first, they question th

power of the king, whether he may lawfully make them : and then you question the wisdom of the king and his council, in that you say there are too many made. It was never before heard, that any good subjects did dispute the king's power in this point. What is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs ? My council may consider the fitness, if I require it. But what if I had created forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs ? The more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer." And his conclusion, short, peremptory, and despotic, was :—" To conclude, my sentence is, that in the matter of parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully ; and that your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, which by reason of your submission, I do forbear, but not permit, 'till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where, by your obedience to the Deputy, and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your past miscarriage, and then may deserve not only pardon, but favour and cherishing."

The result of the controversy for Speaker was, that the Recusant party, setting a precedent that has often been unhappily followed in Ireland,* for a while seceded from the sittings of the house, and left every thing to the Ascendancy party, thus permitting the captains, lieutenants, and commanders of soldiers to have their own way with the liberties of the people and the estates of the Northern Chiefs.

* By Grattan and Curran, &c., &c.

After many prolongations, the Parliament again assembled in 1615. The two houses joined in passing an act for recognizing the King's title to the crown. "Wherein," says Leland, "they gave ample testimony of the excellence of his government and tender concern for his people of Ireland;" an unquestionable testimony, even although the Recusants who had returned to Parliament this session concurred in it most willingly. This tender concern was manifested by "reducing them to order, by settling them in peace, by confirming their possessions, by various acts of favour, and particularly by the civil Plantation of the escheated lands of Ulster."* Truly these Catholic Recusants were strange patriots—patriots of the Pale, as such always are—selfish, mean, and sycophant.

The old statutes against the natives of Irish blood—now that they were well plundered and subdued, no longer considered as enemies or meer Irish—were repealed, as were also those barbarous laws which forbade them commerce, intermarriage, and fosterage, and calling over Scots and marrying with them—all swept away by this gracious Parliament. Subsidies granted to James, who much wanted them; petitions presented for a relaxation of the Penal Codes of Elizabeth, but cautiously answered, and, as the historian of a future period will tell, by no means granted. *The* very reign of Peace was begun on earth; *and to crown all—to crown the civil Plantation, the dearest wish of Chichester, and the profound*

* Leland, vol. 2, p. 456.

perfidy of the Recusant party of the Pale—Sir John Everard, the discharged Chief Justice, the miserable stipendiary of his oppressors, brought in the Bill of Attainder of Cahir O'Dogherty, Hugh O'Neill, and Roderick O'Donnell.

This Bill of Attainder was passed unanimously ; yet the Commons' journals tell us " that doubts arose in some scrupulous consciences (as well they might) that Tyrowen was oppressed ; that he complained and was not redressed, and was therefore obliged to fly out ;" which doubts were answered by the pithy moral—" that for religion and justice no man ought to rise against the Prince ; and that the law of resisting force by force took place only where there was a parity, not otherwise ;"* which good reason, though they might not have understood, did entirely convince them. And so the Bill passed.

But what matters this wretched Bill to that Princely heart ? Languidly it beats near the grave Italian hands must smoothen o'er the last chieftain of Tyrowen. In darkened peace it awaits the shadow of Death, which now cometh quickly on.†

Thus was formally authenticated the Plantation of Ulster, and thus consummated the most abandoned scheme of national ruin and confiscation that ever was devised by avaricious iniquity, and perpetrated by triumphant fraud. Its fruits, many and bitter, took not long in ripening ; the

* "*Commons' Journals*," vol. 1, fol. 16.

† Hugh O'Neill died "with darkened eyes and soul" at Rome, A. D. 1616.

elements of deadly discord were matched too well, and were too contiguous not to produce the fatalest effects ; and the terrible but natural progeny of the pacification of Munster, and the settlement of James was the great Rebellion of 1641.*

* It is usually called by English writers—from Milton to Carlyle, two men of great genius, but very indifferent authority on Irish affairs—a Popish Massacre. The latter, who records in gorgeous language the murders of Cromwell as the results of a certain vague, divine and amiable instinct, and by no means calls them by their proper name, takes this massacre for granted as a Popish outrising and enormity. It was not so. It was a war by a nation of injured men against robbers who had driven them from the inheritance of their fathers, and usurped their places. So far it was a just war, for Wrong can never be made Right by any form of words or acts of Parliament; but it became a massacre only when mutual acts of cruelty provoked the two fiercest passions of man, love of property and religious fanaticism. To which of the two parties can be attributed the first acts of murder, it is difficult to decide ; but when I remember the conduct of the English in Ireland, and of those whom they settled here, their inordinate and savage cruelty, their habitual disregard of life and all its ties, their murders, their burnings, their infanticides and woman killings, I fully and entirely believe that it was by them first that war was turned into a butchery.

APPENDIX I.

THIS Proclamation is extant among the MSS. of the Lambeth Library, M. No. 617, p. 96, whence Leland copied it:—

BY THE KING.

**A PROCLAMATION TOUCHING THE EARLES OF TYROWEN
AND TYRCONNEL.**

SEEING it is common and natural in all persons of what condition soever, to speak and judge variably of all new and sudden accidents; and that the flights of the Earles of Tyrowen and Tyrconnel, with some others of their fellowes out of the north parts of our realme of Ireland, may haply prove a subject of like discourse: We have thought it not amiss to deliver some such matter in publique, as may better cleare men's judgements concerning the same; not in respect of any worth or value in these men's persons, being base and rude in their originall, but to take away all such inconveniences as may blemish the reputation of that friendship, which ought to be mutually observed betweene us and other princes. For although it is not unlikely that the report of their titles and dignities may draw from princes and states some such courtesies at their first coming abroad, as are incident to men of extraordinary rancke and qualitie: yet, when wee have taken the best meanes wee can to *lay them open* in every condition, wee shall then expect from our friends and neighbours all such just and noble proceedings as stand with the rules of honor and friend.

ship, and from our subjects, at home and abroad, that duety and obedience (in their carriage toward them) which they owe to us by inseparable bonds and obligations of nature and loyaltie, whereof wee intend to take streight accompt. For which purpose, wee do hereby first declare, that these persons abovementioned had not their creations or possessions in regard of any lineall or lawfull descent from ancestors of blood or vertue; but were onely preferred by the late queene our sister of famous memory, and by ourselves, for some reasons of state before others, who for their qualitie and birth (in those provinces where they dwell) might better have challenged those honours which were conferred upon them. Secondly, wee doe profess, that it is both knowne to us and our counsell here, and to our deputie and state there, and so shall it appeare to the world (as cleare as the sunne) by evident proofes, that the onely ground and motive of this high contempt in these men's departure, hath been the private knowledge and inward terrour of their owne guiltinesse: whereof, because wee heare that they doe seeke to take away the blot and infamie, by divulging that they have withdrawen themselves for matter of religion (a cloake that serves too much in these dayes to cover many evill intentions): adding also thereunto, some other vaine pretexts of receiving injustice, when their rights and claims have come in question betweene them and us, or any of our subjects and them, wee think it not impertinent to say somewhat thereof.

And therefore, although wee judge it needlesse to seeke for many arguments to confirm whatsoever shall be said of these men's corruption and falsehood—(whose hainous offences remaine so fresh in memorie, since they declared themselves so very monsters in nature, as they did not only withdraw themselves from their personall obedience to their soveraigne, but were content to sell *over their native countrey*, to those that stood at that *time in the highest terms of hostility with the two crownes of England and Ireland*)—yet, to make the absurditie and ingratitude of the allegations abovementioned, so much the more cleare to all men of equal judgment, wee doe hereby professe, in the worde of

kinge, that there never was so much as any shadowe of molestation, nor purpose of proceeding in any degree against them for matter concerning religion. Such being their condition and profession, to thinke murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man worthy to be esteemed valiant that did not glorie in rapine and oppression; as we should have thought it an unreasonable thing to trouble them for any different point in religion, before any man could perceive by their conversation that they made truely conscience of any religion. So do wee also, for the second part of their excuse, affirme that (notwithstanding all that they can claime, must be acknowledged to proceed from meere grace upon their submission after their great and unnatural treasons) there hath never come any question concerning their rights or possessions, wherein wee have not bene more inclinable to doe them favour than to any of their competitours, except in those cases wherein wee have plainly discerned that their onely end was to have made themselves by degrees more able, than now they are, to resist all lawfull authoritie (when they should returne to their vomit againe) by usurping a power over other good subjects of ours, that dwell among them, better borne than they, and utterly disclaiming from any dependencie upon them.

Having now delivered thus much concerning these men's estates and their proceedings, wee will onely end with this conclusion, that they shal not be able to denie, whensoever they should dare to present themselves before the seate of justice, that they have (before the running out of our kingdom) not onely entered into combination for stirring sedition and intestine rebellion, but have directed divers instruments, as well priestes as others, to make offers to foreine states and princes (if they had bene as ready to receive them) of their readinesse and resolution to adhere to them whensoever they should seeke to invade that kingdome. Wherein, amongst other things, this is not to be forgotten, that under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved also to comprehend the utter extirpation of all those subjects that are nowe remayning alive within that kingdome, formerly descended from the English race. In which practices and propositions.

followed and fomented by priestes and Jesuites (of v
function in these times the practise and perswas
subjects to rebell against their soveraignes, is one s
and essential part and portion), as they have fou
such incouragement as they expected and have bo
of; so wee doe assure ourselves, that when this dec
tion shall be seene and duely weighed with all due
cumstances, it will bee of force sufficient to dispers
to discredit all such untrueths, as these contemp
creatures, so full of infidelity and ingratitude,
disgorge against us, and our just and moderate pro
ing; and shall procure unto them no better usage
they would wish should be afforded to any such
of rebels, borne their subjects, and bound unto the
so many and so great obligations.

Given at our palace of Westminster, the fifteenth day of Nov
in the fifth yeere of our reigne of Great Britain, Franc
Ireland.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

APPENDIX II.

LETTER OF DONALD O'NEILL, KING OF ULSTER, TO JOHN, SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, WRITTEN ABOUT 1329.

To our Most Holy Father, John, by the grace of God, sovereign pontiff, we, his faithful children in Christ Jesus, Donald O'Neill, king of Ulster, and lawful heir to the throne of Ireland; the nobles and great men, with all the people of this kingdom, recommend and humbly cast ourselves at his feet, &c.

: The calumnies and false representations which have been heaped upon us by the English are too well known throughout the world, not to have reached the ears of your Holiness. We are persuaded, most Holy Father, that your intentions are most pure and upright; but from not knowing the Irish except through the misrepresentation of their enemies, your holiness might be induced to look upon as truths those falsehoods which have been circulated, and to form an opinion contrary to what we merit, which would be to us a great misfortune. It is, therefore, to save our country against such imputations, that we have come to the resolution of giving to your Holiness, in this letter, a faithful description, and a true and precise idea of the real state at present of our monarchy, if this term can be still applied to the sad remains of a kingdom which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of the kings of England, and that of their ministers and barons, some of whom, though born in our island, continue to exercise over us the same extortions, rapine, and cruelties as their ancestors before them have committed. We shall advance nothing but the truth, and we humbly hope that, attentive to its voice, your Holiness will not delay to express your disapprobation against the authors of those crimes and outrages which shall be revealed. The country in which we live was uninhabited until the three sons of a Spanish

prince, named Milesius, according to others Miledius, landed in it with a fleet of thirty ships. They came here from Cantabria, a city on the Ebro, from which river they called the country to which Providence guided them, Ibernica, where they founded a monarchy that embraced the entire of the island. Their descendants, who never sullied the purity of their blood by foreign alliance, have furnished one hundred and thirty kings, who, during the space of three thousand and five hundred years and upwards, have successively filled the throne of Ireland till the time of King Legarius, whom he, who has the honour of affirming these facts, descended in a direct line. It was under the reign of this prince, in the year 435, that our patron and apostle, St. Patrick, was sent to us by Pope Celestine, one of your predecessors; and since the conversion of the kingdom through the preaching of that great apostle, we have had, till 1170, an uninterrupted succession of sixty-one kings, descended from the purest blood of Milesius, who, well instructed in the duties of their rank and faithful to their God, have proved themselves the benefactors of their people, and have shown by their conduct, although they depended in a spiritual light upon the holy apostolical see of Rome, they never acknowledged any temporal master upon earth. It is to those Milesian princes, and not to the English or any other foreigners, that the church of Ireland is indebted for those possessions, and high privileges, with which the liberality of our monarchs enriched it, and of which it has been almost stripped, through the sacrilegious avarice of the English. During the course of so many centuries, our sovereigns, jealous of their independence, preserved it unimpaired. Attacked more than once by foreign powers, they were never wanting in either courage or strength to repel the invaders, and secure their inheritance from insult. But that which they effected against force, they failed to accomplish in opposition to the will of the sovereign pontiff. His holiness Adrian, to whose other great qualities we bear witness, was by birth an Englishman, but still an Irishman in heart and disposition. The national prejudices early imbibed, blinded him to such a degree that

most false and unjust statement, he determined to transfer the sovereignty of our country to Henry, king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury had been murdered for his zeal in defending the interests of the church. Instead of punishing this prince as his crime merited, and depriving him of his own territories, the complaisant pontiff has torn ours from us to gratify his countryman, Henry II. : and, without pretext or offence on our part, or any apparent motive on his own, has stripped us by the most flagrant injustice of the rights of our crown, and left us a prey to men, or rather to monsters, who are unparalleled in cruelty. More cunning than foxes, and more ravenous than wolves, they surprise and devour us ; and if sometimes we escape their fury, it is only to drag on, in the most disgraceful slavery, the wretched remains of a life more intolerable to us than death itself. When, in virtue of the donation which has been mentioned, the English appeared for the first time in this country, they exhibited every mark of zeal and piety ; and excelling as they did in every species of hypocrisy, they neglected nothing to supplant and undermine us imperceptibly. Emboldened from their first successes, they soon removed the mask ; and without any right but that of power, they obliged us, by open force, to give up to them our houses and our lands, and to seek shelter, like wild beasts, upon the mountains, in woods, marshes, and caves. Even there, we have not been secure against their fury ; they even envy us those dreary and terrible abodes ; they are incessant and unremitting in their pursuits after us, endeavouring to chase us from among them ; they lay claim to every place in which they can discover us, with unwarranted audacity and injustice ; they allege that the whole kingdom belongs to them of right, and that an Irishman has no longer a right to remain in own his country. From these causes arise the implacable hatred and dreadful animosity of the English and the Irish, towards each other ; that continued hostility, those bloody retaliations and innumerable massacres, in which, from the invasion of the English to the present time, more than fifty thousand lives have been lost on both sides, besides those who have fallen victims

to hunger, to despair, and to the rigours of captivity Hence also spring all the pillaging, robbery, treachery treason and other disorders which it is impossible for us to allay in the state of anarchy under which at present we live; an anarchy fatal not only to the state, but likewise to the church of Ireland, whose members are now more than ever, exposed to the danger of losing the blessings of eternity, after being first deprived of those of this world. Behold, most holy father, a brief description of all that has reference to our origin, and the miserable condition to which your predecessor has brought us. We shall now inform your holiness of the manner in which we have been treated by the kings of England. The permission of entering this kingdom was granted by the holy see to Henry II. and his successors, only on certain conditions, which were clearly expressed in the bull which was given them. According to the tenor of it, Henry engaged to increase the church revenues in Ireland; to maintain it in all its rights and privileges; to labour by enacting good laws in reforming the morals of the people, eradicating vices and encouraging virtue; and finally, to pay to the successors of St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for each house. Such were the conditions of the bull. But the kings of England and their perfidious ministers, far from observing them, have uniformly contrived to violate them in every way, and to act in direct opposition to them. First, as to the church lands, instead of extending their boundaries, they have contracted, curtailed, and invaded them so generally and to such a degree, that some of our cathedrals have been deprived by open force, of more than one-half of their revenue. The persons of the clergy have been as little respected as their property. On every side we behold bishops and prelates summoned, arrested, and imprisoned by the commissioners of the king of England; and so great the oppression exercised over them, that they dare not give information of it to your holiness. However, they are so dastardly as to conceal their misfortune and those of the church, they do not merit that we should speak in their behalf. The Irish were remarkable for their candour and simplicity; but

English have undertaken to reform us, and have been unfortunately but too successful. Instead of being, like our ancestors, simple and candid, we have become, through our intercourse with the English, and the contagion of their example, artful and designing as themselves. Our laws were written, and formed a body of right, according to which our country was governed. However, with the exception of one alone, which they could not wrest from us, they have deprived us of those salutary laws, and have given us instead a code of their own making. Great God! such laws! If inhumanity and injustice were leagued together, none could have been devised more deadly and fatal to the Irish. The following will give your holiness some idea of their new code. They are the fundamental rules of English jurisdiction established in this kingdom:

1st—Every man who is not Irish, may, for any kind of crime, go to law with any Irishman, whilst neither layman nor ecclesiastic, who is Irish, (prelates excepted,) can, under any cause or provocation, resort to any legal measures against his English opponent.

2d—If an Englishman kill an Irishman perfidiously and falsely, as frequently occurs, of whatsoever rank or condition the Irishman may be, noble or plebeian, innocent or guilty, clergyman or layman, secular or regular, were he even a bishop, the crime is not punishable before our English tribunal; but on the contrary, the more the sufferer has been distinguished among his countrymen, either for his virtue or his rank, the more the assassin is extolled and rewarded by the English, and that not only by the vulgar, but by the monks, bishops, and what is more incredible, by the very magistrates, whose duty it is to punish and repress crime.

2d—If any Irishwoman whosoever, whether noble or plebeian, marry an Englishman, on the death of her husband she becomes deprived, from her being Irish, of a third of the property and possessions which he owned.

4th—If an Irishman fall beneath the blows of an Englishman, the latter can prevent the vanquished from *naking any testamentary deposition*, and may likewise *the possession* of all his wealth. What can be more *justifiable* than a law which deprives the church of

its rights, and reduces men, who had been free from time immemorial, to the rank of slaves?

5th.—The same tribunal, with the co-operation and connivance of some English bishops, at which the archbishop of Armagh presided, a man who was but little esteemed for his conduct, and still less for his learning, made the following regulations at Kilkenny, which are not less absurd in their import than in their form. The court, say they, after deliberating together, prohibits all religious communities, in that part of Ireland of which the English are in peaceful possession, to admit any into them but a native of England, under a penalty of being treated by the king of England, as having contemned his orders, and by the founders and administrators of the said communities, as disobedient and refractory to the present regulation. This regulation was little needed; before, as well as since its enactment, the English Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, regular canons, and all the other communities of their countrymen, observed the spirit of it but too faithfully. In the choice of their inmates they have evinced a partiality, the more shameful, as the houses for Benedictines and canons, where the Irish are now denied admittance, were intended by their founders to be asylums open to people of every nation indiscriminately. Vice was to be eradicated from amongst us, and the seeds of virtue sown. Our reformers have acted in a way diametrically opposite; they have deprived us of our virtues, and have implanted their vices amongst us, &c. &c. &c.

THE END.



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